TRAVELS

IN

THE MOGUL EMPIRE,

BY

FRANCIS BERNIER

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

BY

IRVING BROCK.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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PREFACE.

[Th]e work of which a translation is now offered to the [publ]ic is deservedly held in high estimation. It was first published in the year 1670, at which time some of the countries described by M. Bernier had not yet been visited by any other European writer and great ignorance prevailed on the affairs of India. The appearance of the book excited, therefore, a lively interest, and it became the subject of unequivocal commendation during the brilliant age of Lewis the Fourteenth.

The observations of subsequent travellers have confirmed the celebrity of our author. Mr. Gibbon and Doctor Robertson quote him with approbation, and Major Rennell styles him "the most instructive of all East Indian travellers."* By Mr. Forster he is considered as "one of the most accurate and ingenious writers on the history of Hindostan;" and in a letter, dated from Kashmire itself, that gentleman pronounces a high eulogium on his exquisite judgment and the exactness of his researches.†

Francis Bernier was born at Angers in France,

* Memoir for illustrating the map of Hindostan, page 133.

† George Forster proceeded by land from Bengal to the Caspian Sea, and thence to St. Petersburgh, in the years 1783 and 1784. It was necessary, from a regard to safety, to avoid the country of the Seiks; that is Lahore: he accordingly crossed the Ganges and Jumna within the mountains, and proceeded to

but in what year it is not ascertained.* He was educated for the medical profession, and after taking his degree of doctor of physic at Montpellier, he resolved on gratifying his eager desire for travel. He visited Syria in 1654, proceeded thence to Egypt, and resided above a twelvemonth in Cairo, where he was infected with the plague. Soon after his recovery, he sailed from Suez for the purpose, as he tells us in the commencement of his narrative, of exploring every part of the Red Sea; but on his arrival at Mokha finding it unsafe to visit Gonda, he abandoned his first design and embarked on board a vessel bound to Surat, in Hindostan. In that country he remained twelve

Kashmire by the road of Jummoo. The following is the letter to which allusion has been made.

"Kashmire, 1783.

"I am to express a regret that previously to my route, I had not perused the accurate and candid memoirs of Mr. Bernier, who stands in the first rank of writers on Indian history; yet should this cursory relation throw any light on his description of Kashmire, as lively as it is just, by marking the changes which have happened since his day, I shall hold it in some estimation, and consider any inconvenience which might have arisen from my journey thither, honourably requited. Mr. Bernier enjoyed advantages which have fallen to the lot of few Asiatic travellers, and happily for the learned world his talents amply improved them. He travelled into Kashmire in the suite of Danechmend Khan, a favourite omrah of Aureng-Zêbe, who, having a taste for science and letters, encouraged this ingenious Frenchman to investigate attentively the great variety of its curious produce. He has also described the causes of that important revolution which raised Aureng-Zêbe to the throne of Hindostan. As he was personally engaged in the scene of action, and an eye-witness of many of the principal events, all which are related in a simple interesting language, I earnestly recommend to you a diligent perusal of his instructive and judicious book.

"GEORGE FORSTER."

* Voltaire supposes it was in 1625.

years, eight of which he acted as physician to Aureng-Zêbe. Danechmend Khan, the favourite omrah of this prince, and the patron of scientific and literary men, encouraged and protected the intelligent and useful stranger, and when he accompanied Aureng-Zêbe, in his progress to Kashmire, Dr. Bernier was attached to his suite. On his return to France, our author published his Travels. The most illustrious and distinguished personages courted his society, and he lived on terms of intimacy with Racine, Boileau, Saint Evremont, Ninon de L'Enclos, Madame de la Labliere and Luillier Chapelle. Saint Evremont calls him "the handsome philosopher," in allusion to his fine face and figure, the elegance of his manners, and the charms of his conversation. His philosophy (since we must so pervert the term) was that of Epicurus, and he seems to have been an enthusiastic admirer of Gassendi. He rejected the divine doctrines of our holy faith, and embraced the speculative impieties of those learned men. But it is creditable to the taste of our age that his philosophical treatises are neglected while his travels are better appreciated and more highly esteemed than at any former period.

His death, which happened in 1688, was caused, the younger Racine informs us, by a stroke of cutting raillery on the part of the First-President De Harlay at the festive board. The metaphysical conceits of Gassendi inspired him with no strength of mind, and the philosopher died of what is called a broken heart.

Those parts of his works which are now presented to the public, were "English'd out of French" in the year 1672; but that translation is almost unintelligible. Our traveller's style is frequently loose and obscure, and several events are sometimes strangely jumbled together

in one or two pages, without the intervention of a single period. The antiquated translator followed the original verbatim, so far as he understood it, but he often misconceived the import of words,* and always disregarded the idiom of the respective languages.

In many points of view, the memoirs of Bernier may be considered a valuable fragment of Mogul history. They throw much light on the political transactions in India during an important period of its modern annals, and make us intimately acquainted with the real condition of the people under the dominion of the Moslem conquerors. The details given of the sufferings of more than a hundred millions of the human species placed within the horrid glare of a muhammedan sceptre, will excite peculiar interest in the English reader, when he reflects that they refer to a period very little antecedent to our first establishment in India. Duly to appreciate the blessings of British government and influence in the vast regions of Hindostan, we should, by an attentive perusal of a writer of such unquestionable authority as Bernier, become conversant with their state of debasement and thraldom before the ruthless domination of the Moguls was succeeded by the mild and beneficent sway of Great Britain.†

* To mention one instance: the passage *Les gentils du païs,* (the pagans of the country) is rendered *the country gentry.*

† Mild and beneficent as compared to their former slavery. It is not my province to speak of the abuses still existing, and which every enlightened Englishman wishes to see redressed. No one however, (to use the language of an elegant writer) can deny that the government of the British in India has been a prodigious, an incalculable blessing to the Indian people, chiefly in having by its influence banished foreign war and invasion with all their horrors; that many ameliorations have been constantly going forward in the statute-book and in our institutions; and that in fact only the ordinary securities against neglect and misrule

The first part of the volume contains a simple but entertaining narrative of the civil domestic war which raged in Hindostan when our author visited that country, and which left Aureng-Zêbe in quiet possession of the throne.

Several events that occurred after the termination of the war are then recorded; and anecdotes are introduced, of which although at first sight some may appear puerile, yet all are either characteristic of the individuals to whom they relate, or illustrative of the manners and genius of the people.

The third section of the book consists of a letter to the celebrated Colbert, descriptive of the government of India, its pecuniary resources, its military strength and its immense expenditure. The information which this letter conveys is important and comprehensive, and would alone entitle M. Bernier to the praise bestowed on him by his countrymen. He shews himself to have been "an observer at once inquisitive and judicious, who travelled for the double purpose of instructing himself, and of contributing to the instruction of others."*

A minute description of Delhi and Agra, the capital cities of the empire follows next; and in this chapter, written with all the author's powers of observation and research, is contained an animated account of the court of the Great Mogul.

The degrading superstitions and unhallowed rites of the Hindoos—the crushings of Juggernaut's car—the juggles of the lustful and profligate Brahmins—the immolations, often compulsory, of females,—the drowning of the sick and dying,—all these abominations form the subject of another portion of the work.

are required to make those benefits spread and fructify a thousand-fold.

* Histoire Generale des Voyages: tom 37, page 261.

These awful and heart-rending particulars, are succeeded by a dull and irrelevant, but happily short, dissertation on the doctrine of atoms. M. Bernier thought it worth while to confute the monstrous notion that the system of the universe had not its original from any intelligent nature; but that mind and intelligence, as well as all things else, sprung from senseless nature and chance, or from the unguided and undirected motion of matter.

The journey of Aureng-Zêbe to the kingdom of Kashmire, "the Terrestrial Paradise of India," with a military retinue of nearly fifty thousand men, and accompanied by the whole population of Delhi, is related with the usual liveliness and accuracy of the author; and the volume closes with his solution of five questions proposed by M. Thevenot—concerning the settlement of Jews in Kashmire, the Monsoons, the regularity of the currents. and periodical winds in India, the fertility of Bengal; and the increase of the river Nile.

Among the many works with which the press is daily enriching the literature of the world, few merit a higher place in our estimation than the narratives of intelligent travellers. They make us acquainted with scenes before unknown to us, and manners ever-varying from our own; with civil and religious institutions—if the cruelties and fooleries of paganism deserve the name—abhorrent from our opinions and habits; and with an œconomy of domestic life so opposed to our every-day experience, that it seems to belong to a different order of beings. The additions made by such men to our knowledge in almost every department of science and, not unfrequently, in the arts which minister to the delight of refined society, are universally acknowledged. They furnish meditations to the philosopher, scenes

to the painter, and songs to the poet: they open new fields to the speculations of commerce, and give a surer direction to the policy of states. But whatever delight or instruction voyages and travels may communicate, one lesson they are calculated to convey which has been fearfully disregarded—the universal depravity of man. However modified by climate, laws, superstitions and various degrees of civilization, the character of man remains essentially the same in every country and in every age. From the wandering barbarian of the desert to the refined inhabitant of polished courts, all participate in the deadly bequest of the apostate father of our race.

The heart sickens at the bare recital of the abominable superstitions, the impure rites, and the murderous idolatries of pagan nations. Mr. Gibbon styles the dark obscene and cruel worship of the ancients; "The elegant mythology of the Greeks;" and the still more degraded system of Hindoo mythology has found an admirer and defender in Colonel Dow. But the perusal of such pages as the following, some of which delineate that compound of absurdity, wickedness and cruelty in its most hateful forms, ought yet more to endear to the devout disciple of The Saviour of Sinners, the religion of the cross, and to increase his attachment to the pure morality of the Christian Code.

TRAVELS

IN

THE MOGUL EMPIRE.

THE desire of seeing the world, which had induced me to visit Palestine and Egypt, still prompted me to extend my travels, and I formed the design of exploring the Red Sea from one end to the other. In pursuance of this plan, I quitted Grand Cairo, where I had resided more than a year, and in two and thirty hours (travelling at a caravan-rate) reached the town of Suez. Here I embarked in a galley, and was conveyed in seventeen days from Suez to the port of Giddah, half a day's journey from Mecca. Contrary to my expectation, and in violation of a promise which I had received from the Bey of the Red Sea, I was constrained to land on this holy territory of Muhammed, where no Christian, who is not a slave, dares set his foot. After a detention of nearly five weeks, I took my passage on board a small vessel, which, sailing along the shores of Arabia Felix, brought me in

fifteen days to Mokha, near the straits of Babelmandel. It was now my intention to pass over to the islands of Masuah and Arkecko, on my way to Gondar, the capital of Habesh (or Kingdom of Ethiopia); but I was informed that the catholics were not in safety in that country, since the period when, through the intrigues of the queen-mother, the Portuguese were slaughtered, or expelled, with the Jesuit Patriarch whom they had brought thither from Goa; and that, in fact, an unhappy Capuchin had been recently beheaded at Suaken, for having attempted to enter the kingdom. It seemed, indeed, that less risk would be incurred if I adopted the disguise of a Greek or an Armenian; and that when the king knew I could be of service to him, he would probably make me a grant of land, which might be cultivated by slaves, if I possessed the means of purchasing them; but that I should, at the same time, be compelled to marry immediately, as a monk, who had assumed the character of a Greek physician, had already been obliged to do; and that I could never hope to obtain permission to quit the country.

These considerations, among others which may be mentioned in the sequel, induced me to abandon my intention of visiting Gondar. I embarked, therefore, in an Indian vessel, passed the straits of Babelmandel, and in two and twenty days arrived at Surat, in Hindostan, the empire of the Great Mogul. I found that the reigning

prince was named Shah-Jehan, or King of the World. According to the annals of the country, he was the son of Jehan Guire, or Conqueror of the World, and grandson of Acbar, or the Great: so that in tracing his genealogy upwards to Humaioon, or the Fortunate, the father of Acbar, and to Humaioon's predecessors, Shah-Jehan was proved to be the tenth, in regular descent, from Timor Lenk, the Lord, or Lame Prince, whom we commonly but corruptly call Tamerlane.* This Tamerlane, so celebrated for his conquests, married a kinswoman, the only daughter of the prince who then reigned over the people of Great Tartary called Moguls; a name which they have communicated to the foreigners who now govern Hindostan, the country of the Hindoos, or Indians. It must not, however, be inferred, that offices of trust and dignity are exclusively held by those of the Mogul race, or that they alone obtain rank in the army. These situations are filled indifferently by them and strangers from all countries; the greater part by Persians, some by Arabs, and others by Turks. To be esteemed a Mogul, it is enough if a foreigner have a white face and profess Muhammedanism; in contradistinction to the European Christians, who are called Franguis, and to the Hindoos, whose complexion is brown, and whose religion is Pagan.

* Timour is the correct name of this prince. Timour, in the Turkish language, means Iron. Lenk signifies in the Persian language, Lame.—*Translator*.

I learnt also on my arrival that this king of the world, Shah-Jehan, who was about seventy years of age, was the father of four sons and two daughters; that some years had elapsed since he elevated his sons to the vice-royalty of his four most considerable provinces or kingdoms; and that he had been afflicted, for about the space of a twelvemonth, with a disorder which it was apprehended would terminate fatally. The situation of the father having inspired the sons with projects of ambition, each laid claim to the empire, and a war was kindled among them which continued about five years.

This war, as I witnessed some of the most important of its events, I shall endeavour to describe. During a period of eight years I was closely attached to the court; for the state of penury to which I had been reduced by various adventures with robbers, and by the heavy expences incurred on a journey of near seven weeks, from Surat to Agra and Delhi, the chief towns of the empire, had induced me to accept a salary from the Great Mogul, in the capacity of physician; and I soon afterwards procured another from Danachmend-Khan, the most learned man of Asia, formerly Bakchis, or Grand Master of the Horse, and one of the most powerful and distinguished omrahs, or lords of the court.

The eldest son of the Great Mogul was named Dara, or Darius: the second Sultan Sujah, or the Valiant Prince: the third was Aureng-

Zêbe, or the Throne's Ornament; and the name of the youngest was Morâd Bakche, or the Desire Accomplished.* Of the two daughters, the elder was called Begum-Saheb, or the Chief Princess; and the younger Rochinara-Begum, the Light of Princesses, or Princess of the Enlightened Mind.

It is usual in this country to give similar names to the members of the reigning family. Thus the wife of Shah-Jehan, so renowned for her beauty, and whose splendid mausoleum is more worthy of a place among the wonders of the world than the unshapen masses and heaps of stone in Egypt, was named Tage-Mâhil, or the Crown of the Seraglio; and the wife of Johan-Guire, who so long wielded the sceptre, while her husband abandoned himself to drunkenness and dissipation, was known first by the appellation of Noor-Mâhil, the Light of the Seraglio, and afterwards by that of Noor-Jehan-Begum, the Light of the World.

The reason why such names are given to the great, instead of titles derived from domains and seigniories as in Europe, is this: as the land throughout the whole empire is considered the property of the sovereign, there can be no earldoms, marquisates or duchies. The royal grants consist only of pensions, either in land or money, which the king gives, augments, retrenches or takes away at pleasure.

* Dara was born in the year 1615; Sultan Sujah in 1616; Aureng Zêbe in 1618; Morâd Bakche in 1624.—*Translator.*

It will not, therefore, appear surprising, that even the omrahs are distinguished only by this kind of title. One for instance, calling himself Raz-Andaze-Khan, another Safe-Cheken-Khan, a third Barc-Andaze-Khan; and others Dianet-Khan, or Danechmend-Khan, and Fazel-Khan: which terms respectively signify The Disposer of Thunder, The Destroyer of Ranks, The Hurler of the Thunderbolt, The Faithful Lord, The Learned, and The Perfect.

Dara was not deficient in good qualities: he was courteous in conversation, quick at repartee, polite, and extremely liberal: but he entertained too exalted an opinion of himself; believed he could accomplish every thing by the powers of his own mind, and imagined that there existed no man from whose counsel he could derive benefit. He spoke disdainfully of those who ventured to advise him, and thus deterred his sincerest friends from disclosing the secret machinations of his brothers. He was also very irascible; apt to menace; abusive and insulting even to the greatest omrahs; but his choler was seldom more than momentary. Born a Muhammedan, he continued to join in the exercises of that religion; but although thus publicly professing his adherence to its faith, Dara was in private a Pagan with Pagans, and a Christian with Christians. He had constantly about his person some of the heathen doctors, on whom he bestowed pensions to a large amount, and from these it is thought he imbibed opinions in no

wise accordant with the religion of the land: but upon this subject I shall make a few observations when I treat of the religious worship of the Hindoos, or Pagans. He had, moreover, for some time lent a willing ear to the suggestions of the Reverend Father Buzèe, a Jesuit, in the truth and propriety of which he began to acquiesce. There are persons, however, who say that Dara was in reality destitute of all religion, and that these appearances were assumed only from motives of curiosity, and for the sake of amusement; while, according to others, he embraced by turns Christianity and Paganism from political considerations; wishing to ingratiate himself with the Christians who were pretty numerous in his corps of artillery, and hoping to gain the affection of the rajahs, or pagan princes tributary to the empire. It was most essential to be on good terms with these personages, that he might, as occasion arose, secure their co-operation. Dara's false pretences to this or that mode of worship, did not, however, promote the success of his plans; on the contrary, it will be found in the course of this narrative, that the reason assigned by Aureng-Zêbe for causing him to be beheaded, was that he had turned kafer, or infidel.

Sultan Sujah, the second son of the Great Mogul, resembled in many characteristic traits his brother Dara; but he was more discreet, firmer of purpose, and excelled him in conduct and address. He was sufficiently dexterous in the ma-

nagement of an intrigue; and by means of repeated largesses, bestowed secretly, knew how to acquire the friendship of the great omrahs, and, in particular, of the most powerful rajahs, such as Jesswint Singh and others. He was, nevertheless, too much a slave to his pleasures; and when surrounded by his women, who were exceedingly numerous, passed whole days and nights in dancing, singing, and drinking wine. No courtier, who consulted his own interest, would attempt to detach him from this mode of life: the business of government therefore often languished, and the affections of his subjects were in a great measure alienated.

Sultan Sujah declared himself of the religion of the Persians, although his father and brothers professed that of the Turks. Muhammedanism is divided into various sects, which occasioned the following distich from the pen of the famous Sheik Sadi, author of the Gulistan.*

> I am a drinking dervise; I am apparently without religion;
> I am known by the seventy-two sects.

Of these sects there are two whose respective partisans are mortal enemies to each other. The one is that of the Turks, called by the Persians Osmanlous, or Followers of Osman, whom the

* The Proverbs of Solomon, the Ethics of Aristotle, and the Gulistan of Sadi are the favourite books of the Turks. Mr. Gladwin's English translation, from Gentius's Latin version, is well known.—*Translator.*

Turks believe to have been the true and legitimate successor of Muhammed, the Great Caliph, or Sovereign Pontiff, to whom alone it belonged to interpret the Koran, and to decide the controversies that occur in the law. The other is that of the Persians, called by the Turks, Chias, Rafezago, and Ali-Merdans; that is, sectaries, heretics, and partisans of Ali; because the Persians believe that the succession and pontifical authority belonged only to Ali, the son-in-law of Muhammed.

When he avowed himself one of the latter sect, Sultan Sujah was evidently actuated by motives of policy; for as the Persians were in possession of the most important offices in the kingdom, and exercised the largest share of influence at the Court of the Mogul, he hoped thus to secure interest and support, whenever the tide of events should render them necessary.

Aureng-Zêbe, the third brother, was devoid of that urbanity and engaging presence, so much admired in Dara: but he possessed a sounder judgment, and was more skilful in selecting for confidants such persons as were best qualified to serve him with faithfulness and ability. He distributed his presents with a liberal but discriminating hand among those whose good will it was essential to preserve or cultivate. He was reserved, subtle and a complete master of the art of dissimulation. When in his father's court, he feigned a devotion which he never felt, and affected contempt for worldly grandeur while clandestinely

endeavouring to pave the way to future elevation. Even when nominated Viceroy of the Deccan, he caused it to be believed that his feelings would be better gratified if permitted to turn Fakir or Dervise*; that the wish nearest his heart was to pass the rest of his days in prayer or in offices of piety, and that he shrunk from the cares and responsibility of government. Still had his life been one of undeviating intrigue and contrivance; conducted, however, with such admirable skill, that every person in the court, excepting only his brother Dara, seemed to form an erroneous estimate of his character. The high opinion expressed by Shah-Jehan of his son Aureng-Zêbe, provoked the envy of Dara, and he would sometimes say to his intimate friends, that, of all his brothers, the only one who excited his suspicion, and filled him with alarm was the Nemazi—the bigot.

Morâd Bakche, the youngest of the Mogul's sons, was inferior to his three brothers in judgment and address. The pleasures of the table and of the field engaged his undivided attention. He was, however, generous and polite. He used to boast that he had no secrets: he despised cabinet intrigues, and wished it to be known that he trusted only to his sword and to the strength of his arm. He was indeed full of courage; and if that courage had been under the guidance of a

* The word Fakir is the Arabic, and Dervische or Dervise, the Turkish and Persian term, for a mendicant.—*Translator.*

little more discretion, it is probable, as we shall see, that he would have prevailed over his three brothers, and remained the undisputed master of Hindostan.

Begum-Saheb, Shah-Jehan's elder daughter, was very handsome, of lively parts, and passionately beloved by her father. It is painful to allude to the rumour of his unnatural attachment, the justification of which he rested on the decision of the moollahs, or doctors of the law. According to them, it would have been unjust to deny the king the privilege of gathering fruit from the tree he had himself planted. Shah-Jehan reposed unbounded confidence in this his favourite child; she watched over his safety, and was so cautiously observant, that no dish was permitted to appear upon the royal table which had not been prepared under her superintendance. It is not surprising, therefore, that her ascendancy in the court of the Mogul should have been nearly unlimited; that she should always have regulated the humours of her father and exercised a powerful influence on the most weighty concerns. This princess accumulated great riches by means of her large allowances, and of the costly presents which flowed in from all quarters, in consideration of numberless negociations entrusted to her sole management. The affairs of her brother Dara prospered, and he retained the friendship of the king, because she attached herself steadily to his interest and declared openly in favour of his party. He cultivated

with assiduous attention the good will of this valuable coadjutor, and it is thought promised that, on his accession to the throne, he would grant her permission to marry. This pledge was contrary to the laws of Hindostan, by which the marriage of princesses is strictly forbidden, no man being considered worthy of royal alliance, and an apprehension being entertained that the husband might thereby be rendered powerful, and induced perhaps to aspire to the crown.

I shall introduce two anecdotes connected with the amours of this princess, and hope I shall not be suspected of a wish to supply subjects for romance. What I am writing is matter of history, and my object is to present a faithful account of the manners of this people. Love adventures, criminal as they are in every country, are not attended with the same danger in Europe as in Asia. In France they excite only merriment; they create a laugh, and are forgotten: but in this part of the world, few are the instances in which they are not followed by some dreadful and tragical catastrophe.

It is said, then, that Begum-Saheb, although confined in a seraglio, and guarded like other women, received the visits of a young man of no very exalted rank, but of an agreeable person. It was scarcely possible, surrounded as she was on all sides by those of her own sex whose envy she had long provoked, that her conduct should escape detection. Shah-Jehan was apprised of her guilt,

and resolved to enter her apartments at an unusual and unexpected hour. The intimation of his approach was too sudden to allow her the choice of more than one place of concealment. The affrighted gallant sought refuge in the capacious cauldron used for the baths. The king's countenance denoted neither surprise nor displeasure; he discoursed with his daughter on ordinary topics, but finished the conversation by observing that the state of her skin indicated a neglect of her customary ablutions, and that it was proper she should bathe. He then commanded the eunuchs to light a fire under the cauldron, and did not retire until they gave him to understand that his wretched victim was no more.

At a subsequent period, Begum-Saheb formed another attachment, which also had a tragical termination. She chose for her kane-saman, or steward, a Persian, named Nazir-Khan, a young nobleman remarkable for grace and mental accomplishments, full of spirit and ambition, and the favourite of the whole court. Shaista-Khan, the uncle of Aureng-Zêbe, greatly esteemed this young Persian, and ventured to propose him for Begum-Saheb's husband; a proposition which was very ill received by the Mogul. He had indeed already entertained some suspicion of an improper intercourse between the favoured nobleman and the princess and did not long deliberate on the course he should pursue. As a mark of distinguished favour the king presented the betel,

in the presence of ths whole court, to the unsuspecting youth, which he was obliged immediately to masticate, agreeably to the custom of the country. Little did the unhappy lover imagine that he had received poison from the hand of the smiling monarch, but indulging in dreams of future bliss, he withdrew from the palace, and ascended his palanquin. Such, however, was the activity of the poison, that he died before he could reach home. The Indians mix with the betel certain delicate leaves, a small portion of lime made of sea shells, and other ingredients. The effect produced by its mastication is to render the breath sweet, and the lips red.*

Rochinara Begum, the Mogul's younger daughter, was less beautiful than her sister,

*At all times of the day, and even in the night, the Indians chew the leaves of the betel, the bitterness of which is corrected by the areca, a fruit common in most parts of Asia, that is wrapped up in them. There is constantly mixed with it the chinam, a kind of burnt lime made of shells. The rich frequently add perfumes, either to gratify their vanity or their sensuality.

It would be thought a breach of politeness among the Indians to take leave for any length of time, without presenting each other with a purse of betel. It is a pledge of friendship that relieves the pain of absence. It is customary to have the mouth always perfumed with betel, unless one is going to address one's superiors. The women of gallantry are the most lavish in the use of betel, as being a powerful incentive to love. Betel is taken after meals; it is chewed during a visit; it is offered when you meet and when you separate; in short, nothing is to be done with-

neither was she so remarkable for understanding; she was nevertheless possessed of the same vivacity, and equally the votary of pleasure. She became the ardent partisan of Aureng-Zêbe, and made no secret of her enmity to Begum-Saheb and Dara. This might be the reason why she amassed but little wealth, and took but an inconsiderable part in public affairs. Still, as she was an inmate of the seraglio, and not deficient in artifice, she succeeded in conveying, by means of spies, much valuable intelligence to Aureng-Zêbe.

Some years previous to the war, the turbulent disposition of his four sons had filled Shah-Jehan with perplexity and alarm. They were all married and of adult age; but, in utter disregard of the ties of consanguinity, each, animated by deadly hatred toward the others, had set up his pretensions to the crown, so that the court was divided into separate factions. The king, who trembled for his personal safety, and was tormented by sad forbodings of the events which actually befel him, would gladly have confined his re-

out betel. If it be injurious to the teeth, it assists and strengthens the stomach. This is at least the prejudice generally prevailing throughout India.

The betel is a plant that creeps or climbs, like the ivy, alongside of trees or props, to which it fixes itself by small tendrils. The betel grows in every part of India, but it comes to perfection, only in damp and clayey places. There are private cultivations of it, which are very profitable, on account of the great demand for it.

Abbé Raynal.

fractory children in Gualior, a fortress which had often received members of the royal family within its walls, and whose situation, on a lofty and inaccessible rock, renders it impregnable; but he justly considered that they had become too powerful to be dealt with in so summary a manner. He was indeed in perpetual apprehension of their having recourse to arms, and either erecting independent principalities, or converting the seat of government into a bloody arena, in which to settle their personal differences. To save himself, therefore, from some impending and overwhelming calamity, Shah-Jehan resolved to bestow upon his sons the government of four distant provinces. Sultan Sujah was appointed to Bengal; Aureng-Zêbe to the Deccan; Morâd Bakche to Guzerat; and Dara to Cabul and Moultan. The three first-mentioned princes repaired to their respective provinces without delay, and soon betrayed the spirit by which they were animated. They acted in every respect as independent sovereigns, appropriated the revenues to their own use, and levied formidable armies under pretence of maintaining tranquillity at home, and commanding respect abroad. Dara, because he was the eldest son and expected to succeed to the crown, did not quit the court of his father. Shah-Jehan appearing to encourage that expectation, authorised his son to issue orders, and permitted him to occupy an inferior throne, placed among the omrahs, beneath his own; so that two kings

TREVANDRUM PUBLIC

appeared to reign with almost equal power: but there is reason to believe that the Mogul practised much duplicity, and that, notwithstanding the respectful and affectionate demeanour of Dara, his father was never cordially attached to him. The old monarch lived in continual dread of poison, and carried on, it is supposed, a secret correspondence with Aureng-Zêbe, of whose talents for government he always entertained a high opinion.

I have thought a slight sketch of Shah-Jehan and his sons a proper introduction to this history, and necessary to the right understanding of what is to follow. Nor could I well avoid adding a few particulars concerning his two daughters, who play so prominent a part in the tragedy. In India, as well as in Constantinople and other places, the most momentous events are too often caused by the influence of the sex, although the people may be ignorant of this fact, and may indulge in vain speculations as to the cause of the agitation they deplore.

It may also elucidate my narrative to revert to the proceedings of Aureng-Zêbe, of the King of Golconda, and of his vizier Emir-Jemla, a short time before the war broke out: this may give my readers an insight into the character and genius of Aureng-Zêbe, the hero of this history, and the future king of India.

We shall first see in what manner Emir-Jemla

laid the foundation of the power and supremacy of Shah-Jehan's third son.

During the time that Aureng-Zêbe was entrusted with the government of Deccan, the king of Golconda had for his vizier and general of his armies, this Emir-Jemla, a Persian by birth*, and celebrated throughout Hindostan. The vizier's lineage was not noble, but his talents were of the first order: he was an accomplished soldier, and deeply versed in business. His wealth, which was prodigious, he had acquired, not only by the opportunities afforded him as chief minister of an opulent kingdom, but likewise by means of his extensive commerce with various parts of the world, as well as by the diamond mines which he farmed under feigned names. These mines were worked with indefatigable industry, and it was usual to count his diamonds by the sack. His political influence, it may readily be imagined, was

* Jemla was a Persian, born in Ardistan, a village in the neigbourhood of Ispahan. His parents, though of some rank, were extremely poor: he, however, found means to acquire some knowledge of letters, which circumstance procured for him the place of clerk to a diamond merchant, who made frequent journies to Golconda. In that kingdom he quitted his master's service, traded on his own account, and became possessed of a considerable fortune, which enabled him to purchase a place at the court of Cuttub, sovereign of Tellingana, and of a great part of Golconda. In that station he behaved so well that he attracted the notice of this prince, who raised him to the head of the forces of Tellingana. *Dow.*

also very great, commanding as he did not only the armies of the king, but keeping in his own pay a formidable body of troops, with a corps of artillery composed principally of Christians. It ought likewise to be mentioned that the vizier, having found a pretext for the invasion of the Carnatic, pillaged the whole of its ancient and pagan temples, and thus increased his pecuniary resources to an incredible amount.

The jealousy of the king of Golconda was naturally awakened; and he eagerly, but silently, sought an opportunity to destroy, or remove from his presence, one whom he regarded as a dangerous rival rather than an obedient subject. Surrounded by persons devoted to the interest of the minister, he felt the prudence of concealing his intentions; but in an unguarded moment, when informed, for the first time, of the improper intimacy subsisting between Emir-Jemla and the queen-mother, who still retained much beauty, he gave utterance to the feelings by which he had so long been oppressed, and denounced vengeance against this powerful offender.

The vizier was at this time in the Carnatic; but every important office at court being filled by his relations, he was soon made acquainted with the danger which awaited him. This crafty man's first step was to write to his only son Mahmet Emir-Khan, then with the king, to urge his immediate departure from court, under any false pretext, and to represent the necessity of

his joining him in the Carnatic: but he found it impossible to elude the vigilance with which he was guarded. Disappointed in this, the vizier's next measure was at once bold and original, and it brought the king of Golconda to the very verge of destruction: so true it is that he who cannot keep his own counsel cannot preserve his crown. Jemla addressed a letter to Aureng-Zêbe, at this time in Dowlatabad, the metropolis of Deccan, to the following effect:

"I have rendered, as all the world knows, essential services to the king of Golconda, and he owes me a heavy debt of gratitude. Nevertheless, he is plotting my ruin and that of my family. May I be permitted, therefore, to throw myself under your protection? In acknowledgment of the kindness I anticipate at your hands, I suggest a plan by which you may easily obtain possession both of the king's person and kingdom. Confide in my integrity, and the enterprise will neither be difficult nor dangerous: assemble four or five thousand of your choicest cavalry, and proceed by forced marches towards Golconda, which may be reached in sixteen days, spreading a rumour that this body of horse is escorting an ambassador from Shah-Jehan, who has affairs of moment to negociate with the king at Bagnaguer (his usual place of residence).

The Dabir, through whose medium the first communication is always made to the king, is my

near relation and entirely in my confidence: you have only to advance with rapidity, and I promise so to order it, that you shall arrive at the gates of Bagnaguer without exciting a suspicion that you are any other than an ambassador from Shah-Jehan. When the king advances, according to custom, to receive the credentials, you may easily secure his person, and dispose of him in the manner you may deem fit. Meanwhile I will defray the whole expence of the expedition, and engage to pay fifty thousand rupees daily during the time it may be in progress."

Aureng-Zêbe, ever intent upon projects of ambition, immediately adopted the measures proposed in this letter. He proceeded at once towards the territory of the king of Golconda, and with such address was the plot conducted, that when the prince reached Bagnaguer, no one doubted that this formidable body of horse accompanied an embassy from the Great Mogul. The king, as is usual on similar occasions, repaired to his garden for the purpose of receiving the pretended ambassador with appropriate ceremony and honour; and while unsuspiciously approaching his perfidious enemy, he was about to be seized by ten or twelve slaves, as had been projected, when an omrah who was in the conspiracy, touched with sudden remorse and compassion, exclaimed, "Your majesty is lost if you do not instantly fly; this is Aureng-Zêbe, and no ambassador." I

would be superfluous to describe the king's consternation: he fled from the spot, mounted a horse, and rode at full speed to the fortress of Golconda, distant only a league from Bagnaguer.

Although disappointed of his prey, Aureng-Zêbe felt that there was no occasion for alarm, and that he might securely prosecute his endeavours to obtain possession of the king's person. The entire spoliation of the palace was his next act. He stript it of all its costly contents, but sent the women to the king, according to a custom most scrupulously observed among Eastern despots. He then determined, though destitute of cannon, to besiege the king in his fortress, which the want of provisions would have prevented from making a protracted defence; but Shah-Jehan, two months after the commencement of the siege, peremptorily commanded his son to relinquish his enterprise, and return without delay to Deccan.

Aureng-Zêbe was aware that in issuing these orders, the Mogul was influenced by Dara and Begum-Saheb, who foresaw that if permitted to pursue his designs against the king of Golconda, he would become too powerful. The prince, however, betrayed no resentment, but acknowledged the duty of implicit obedience to his father's commands. Before he retired he received ample indemnification for the expence of the armament, and stipulated that Emir-Jemla should have free permission to remove with his

family, property and troops, and that the silver coin of the realm should in future bear the arms of Shah-Jehan. Moreover he married his son Mahmud to the king's eldest daughter, exacted a promise that the young prince should be nominated successor to the throne of Golconda, and received, as the princess's dowry, the fortress of Ramguyre, with the whole of its appurtenances.

It would appear that Emir-Jemla joined Aureng-Zêbe at this period; because, while returning to Deccan, both these commanders besieged and captured Beder, one of the strongest places in Visiapour. They then proceeded to Dowlatabad, in which city they lived upon terms of the closest intimacy, forming gigantic plans of future aggrandizement. Their union may be remembered as an important epoch in the history of Hindostan: it prepared the way for the greatness and renown of Aureng-Zêbe.

Jemla, who had by his address contrived to obtain frequent invitations to the court of Shah-Jehan, repaired at length to Agra, and carried the most magnificent presents, in the hope of inducing the Mogul to declare war against the kings of Golconda and Visiapour, and against the Portuguese. On this occasion it was that he presented Shah-Jehan with that celebrated diamond which has been generally deemed unparalleled in size and beauty. He dilated with earnestness on the benefits which would accrue from the conquest

of Golconda, whose precious stones* were surely more deserving of his consideration than the rocks of Candahar, whither the Mogul was about to lead an army: his military operations in that kingdom ought not to cease, he said, until the conquest of his arms extended to Cape Comorin.

The diamonds may have produced their effect upon the mind of Shah-Jehan; but it is the more received opinion that he was glad of a pretext for raising an army which should restrain the growing insolence of his eldest son; and that it was for this reason he entered into the views of Jemla.

Whatever were his motives, he resolved to send an army towards Deccan, under the Emir's command.

* Diamonds are found principally in the kingdoms of Golconda, Visiapour, Bengal and the island of Borneo. There are four mines, or rather two mines and two rivers, whence diamonds are drawn. The mines are 1. that of Raolconda, five days journey from the town of Golconda; 2. that of Gani, or Coulour, seven days journey from Golconda eastwardly; 3. that of Solempour, a town in Bengal: the latter should rather be called that of Gouel, which is the name of the river in the sand whereof these stones are found: lastly, the fourth mine, or rather the second river, is that of Succadan, in the island of Borneo. Till within the last hundred years no diamond mines were known besides those in the East Indies. In the year 1728, however, a discovery of diamonds was made at Brazil, upon some branches of the river das Caravelas, and at Serro de Frio, in the province of Minas-Geraes.—*Translator*.

Dara had incurred his father's displeasure by his recent and undisguised attempts to become paramount in power and authority: but there was one act of his which Shah-Jehan regarded with peculiar horror and indignation, and which he was least disposed to forgive,—the murder of vizier Sadullah-Khan, a nobleman whom the Mogul considered the most accomplished statesman of Asia, and for whom he felt a warmth of friendship that became quite proverbial. What was the offence which Dara judged worthy of death, is not ascertained. Perhaps he apprehended that in the event of the king's demise, the powerful ascendancy of the vizier might leave the crown at his disposal, and that he would place it on the head of Sultan-Sujah, whose party he seemed to favour: or it is possible Dara may have been influenced by the reports promulgated respecting the intentions of Sudallah-Khan, who, from being a Hindoo by birth, had excited the jealousy of the Persians at court. One of these rumours was, that, after the death of Shah-Jehan, the vizier designed to exclude the Moguls from the throne, and either to restore the royal race of Patan, or usurp the crown for himself or his son. His wife was from Patan, and it was pretended that he kept a well appointed army of that people cantoned in various parts, to aid him in accomplishing his project.

It was evident to Dara that to send troops to the Deccan was in effect to increase, by so many

men, the strength of Aureng-Zêbe. He opposed the measure, therefore, with many arguments and entreaties, and by every art he could devise. Finding it, however, impossible to move Shah-Jehan from his purpose, he persuaded him to impose certain conditions; by which Aureng-Zebe should engage to abstain from all interference in the conduct of the war; fix his residence at Dowlatabad; confine his attention to the government of Deccan; and also that the Emir should retain the absolute and undivided command of the army: leaving the whole of his family at court, as hostages for his fidelity. This last clause was extremely offensive to Jemla; but Shah-Jehan prevailed with him to yield compliance, assuring him that this stipulation was intended only to satisfy the caprice of his son, and that he should soon be followed by his wife and children. The Emir put himself at the head of a fine army, with which he marched into the Deccan: and without tarrying in that country, entered Visiapour, commencing his operations with the siege of Callianee, a place of considerable strength.

Such was the state of Hindostan when the Mogul, who had past his seventieth year, was seized with a disorder, the nature of which it were unbecoming to describe. Suffice it to state that it was disgraceful to a man of his age, who, instead of wasting, ought to have been careful to preserve the remaining vigour of his constitution.*

* It is observed by Colonel Dow that Shah-Jehan's dis-

The Mogul's illness filled the whole extent of his dominions with agitation and alarm. Dara collected powerful armies in Delhi and Agra, the principal cities of the kingdom. In Bengal, Sultan-Sujah made the same vigorous preparations for war. Aureng-Zêbe in the Deccan, and Morâd-Bakche in Guzerat, also levied such forces as evinced a determination to contend for empire. The four brothers gathered around them their friends and allies; all wrote letters, made large promises, and entered into a variety of intrigues. Dara, having intercepted some of these letters, shewed them to his father, inveighing bitterly against his brothers; and Begum-Saheb availed herself of so advantageous an opportunity to prejudice the Mogul against his three rebellious sons: but Shah-Jehan placed no confidence in Dara, and suspecting he had a design to poison him, swallowed no food without the utmost fear and caution. It is even thought that he corresponded at this time with Aureng-Zêbe, and that Dara, being apprized of the circumstance, was transported with rage to such a degree as to threaten his father. Meanwhile, the king's distemper increased, and it was reported that he was dead: the whole court was in confusion; the population of

gusting debaucheries had weakened his constitution. On the 17th of September, 1657, he was suddenly seized with a paralytic disorder, accompanied with a violent strangury, and he remained in a state of insensibility for several days.—*Translator*.

of Agra was panic-struck; the shops were closed for many days, and the four princes openly declared their settled purpose of making the sword the sole arbiter of their lofty pretensions. It was, in fact, too late to recede: not only was the crown to be gained by victory alone, but in case of defeat life was certain to be forfeited. There was now no choice between a kingdom and death: as Shah-Jehan had ascended the throne by imbruing his hands in the blood of his own brothers, so the unsuccessful candidates on the present occasion were sure to be sacrificed to the jealousy of the conqueror.*

Sultan-Sujah was the first who took the field. He had filled his coffers by ruining some of the rajahs, and by plundering others. He was therefore enabled to raise a numerous army; and confiding in the support of the Persian omrahs, whose religious views he had embraced, advanced rapidly on Agra. He issued a proclamation which set forth the death of his father by poison from the hand of Dara, and declared his determination both to avenge so foul a murder, and to occupy the vacant throne. Shah-Jehan, at the instance of Dara, hastened to undeceive him in regard to the rumour of his decease; the

* On ascending the throne, Shah-Jehan, either by the dagger or bowstring, dispatched all the males of the house of Timour; so that only himself and his children remained of the posterity of Baber, who conquered India.—*Translator.*

malady was giving way, he said, to the power of medicine, and he expressly commanded him to return forthwith to his government of Bengal. But as Sultan-Sujah's friends at court represented the Mogul's disorder as incurable, he continued his march toward the capital, pretending that he was too well convinced of the death of his revered parent, and that if contrary, to his expectation, he should be yet alive, he was desirous of kissing his feet and receiving his commands.

Aureng-Zêbe also published his proclamations, and put his forces in motion, much at the same time as Sultan-Sujah. He too was meditating an advance on Agra when he received a similar prohibition, both from the king and from Dara; the latter of whom menaced him with punishment if he quitted Deccan. He dissembled, however, like his brother of Bengal, and returned a similar answer; but as his finances were not abundant, and his army was comparatively small, he endeavoured to obtain by fraud what he could not hope to gain by arms. The immediate dupes of his artifice were Morâd-Bakche and Emir-Jemla. In a letter to the former he said:

"I need not remind you, my brother, how repugnant to my real diposition are the toils of government. While Dara and Sultan-Sujah are tormented with a thirst for dominion, I sigh only for the life of a Fakir. But, although renouncing all claim to the kingdom, I nevertheless consider

myself bound to impart my sentiments to you, my friend, whom I have always tenderly loved. Dara is not only incapable of reigning, but is utterly unworthy of the throne, inasmuch as he is a kafer (an infidel), and held in abhorrence by all the great omrahs. Sultan-Sujah is equally undeserving the crown; for being avowedly a rafezy (heretic), he is of course an enemy to Hindostan. Will you then permit me to say that in you alone are to be found the qualifications for ruling a mighty empire. This opinion is not adopted by myself only; it is likewise entertained by the leading nobles, who esteem you for your matchless valour, and are anxious for your arrival in the capital. With respect to myself, if I can exact a solemn promise from you that, when king, you will suffer me to pass my life in some sequestered spot of your dominions, where I may offer up my constant prayers to heaven in peace, and without molestation, I am prepared immediately to make common cause with you, to aid you with my counsel and my friends, and to place the whole of my army at your disposal. I send you one hundred thousand rupees, of which I entreat your acceptance, as an earnest of my best wishes. The time is critical: you should, therefore, not lose one moment in taking possession of the castle of Surat, where I know the vast treasure of the state to be deposited."

Morâd-Bakche, whose wealth and power were

comparatively limited, received his brother's proposals, accompanied as they were by so large a sum, with great delight, and was beyond measure elated at the prospect which now presented itself to him. The letter was everywhere exhibited, in expectation that the young men would be induced by its contents to enter with cheerfulness into his army, and that it might dispose the opulent merchants more willingly to lend the large sums he was exacting with undeviating rigour. He now assumed all the consequence and authority of a king; was profuse in his promises, and contrived every thing so successfully that he soon collected a pretty numerous army. From this army, it was his first care to detach three thousand men, under the command of the eunuch Shah-Abas, a valiant soldier, to lay siege to the castle of Surat.

Aureng-Zêbe next turned his thoughts on Emir-Jemla. He sent to him his eldest son Sultan-Mahmud (whom he had married to the king of Golconda's daughter) with a request that he would come to him at Dowlatabad, as he had intelligence of the last moment to impart. The Emir was at no loss to divine the nature of this intelligence, and refused to quit his army which was still engaged in the siege of Callianee; alleging that he had recently received tidings from Agra, and could assure Sultan-Mahmud that Shah-Jehan was not dead. In no case, however, could he think of co-operating with Aureng-Zêbe, while his wife and children were in Dara's power: his

determination was fixed; he would not be a party in the present quarrel.

Finding it impossible to accomplish the object of his mission, Sultan Mahmud returned to Dowlatabad, extremely displeased with the Emir; but Aureng-Zêbe, no way discouraged, sent another message by his second son Sultan Mazum, who conducted his mission with so much address and urbanity, and made such protestations of friendship, that Emir-Jemla could not withstand the force of his solicitations. He pressed the siege of Calliance, and having forced the garrison to capitulate, hastened to Dowlatabad with the flower of his army.

Aureng-Zêbe received Emir-Jemla with the strongest professions of kindness, calling him Baba and Babagy—father, and the lord my father. He embraced his welcome visitor a hundred times; and taking him aside, addressed him thus:—"I acknowledge the force of the objection made by you to Sultan-Mahmud, and it is the opinion of my friends at court, who are men of judgment, that it would be extremely imprudent, while your family are in the hands of Dara, to stir openly in my favour, or even to manifest the slightest disposition to promote the interest of my cause. But it is not for me to inform you that there are few difficulties which may not be overcome. A scheme has occurred to my mind, which, though at first it may surprise you, will, I doubt not, on reflection, appear to you well calculated to ensure

the safety of your family. Suffer yourself to be confined in prison; it will have the effect of imposing upon the world, and we shall reap all the success we can desire from this plan: for who will ever imagine that a person of your rank could tamely submit to incarceration? In the mean time, I can employ a part of your troops in any manner you think fit; and you will not perhaps refuse, in furtherance of our project, to supply me with a sum of money, according to the offer you have so repeatedly made. With these troops, and this money, I may safely try my fortune. Allow me, therefore, to conduct you to the fortress of Dowlatabad where you will be guarded by one of my sons; we may then deliberate upon the means to be pursued, and I cannot conceive how any suspicion should arise in the mind of Dara, or how he can reasonably ill-treat the wife and children of one who is apparently my enemy."

I have authority for stating that such was substantially the language used by Aureng-Zêbe. The considerations which dictated the Emir's answer to these strange propositions, are not now so well known. It is certain, however, that he complied with them, that he consented to place the troops under Aureng-Zêbe's orders, to lend him money, and, what is even more extraordinary to be conducted to the fortress of Dowlatabad. Some have thought that Emir-Jemla was really allured by the solemn assurance of advantages to be derived from his acquiescence, and that he

was likewise influenced by the recollection of those vows of ardent and indissoluble friendship which had been so frequently interchanged between him and Aureng-Zêbe. Others there are who, perhaps with more reason believe that fear forbade him to withhold his assent, as the two sons of Aureng-Zêbe, Sultan Mazum, and Sultan Mahmud were present at the conference; the former completely armed, and assuming a look that could not be mistaken; the latter indulging in unseemly grimaces, after having raised his arm in a manner which implied an intention of proceeding to violence: for the pride of this prince was mortified because his brother's mission had been attended with better success than his own, and he was at no pains to conceal his resentment.

When the imprisonment of Emir-Jemla became known, that portion of the army which had been brought from Visiapour, demanded aloud the release of their commander, and would soon have opened the door of his prison, if they had not been appeased by the arts of Aureng-Zêbe, who intimated to the superior officers that the Emir's confinement was quite voluntary, and a part, in fact, of a scheme understood between themselves. He was, besides, lavish of his presents: he promised advancement to the officers, and increased the pay of the private soldiers; giving them at once three months' advance as a pledge of his liberal intentions.

In this manner the troops lately under Jemla's command were persuaded to take part in

the campaign meditated by Aureng-Zêbe, who thus soon found himself in a condition to take the field. He first marched in the direction of Surat for the purpose of accelerating the fall of that place, which persevered in a vigorous and unexpected resistance; but a few days after his army had been put in motion he received news of the surrender of that town. He then dispatched a congratulatory letter to Morâd-Bakche; made him acquainted with all that had passed with Emir-Jemla; told him he was now at the head of a formidable force; that he possessed abundance of money; that his understanding with the principal courtiers was complete; and that he was fully prepared to proceed towards Burampour and Agra. He then conjured him to hasten his march, and he fixed the place for the junction of the two armies.

Morâd-Bakche was disappointed in the amount of treasure found in Surat; perhaps it had been exaggerated by report; or the governor, as was generally suspected, had appropriated a large portion of it to his own use. The money of which he came into possession, only sufficed to pay the soldiers, who had been induced to enlist by the expectation of the immense wealth which the walls of Surat were believed to enclose. Nor ought the capture of the town to have increased the military reputation of this prince; for, although destitute of regular fortifications, it yet baffled his

utmost endeavours for more than a month: and he had made no progress in the siege when the Dutch instructed him, for the first time, in the art of mining. The blowing up of a considerable part of the wall spread consternation in the garrison, and terms of capitulation were immediately proposed.

The fall of Surat facilitated the future operations of Morâd-Bakche. It procured him a great name; mining is yet imperfectly known in India, and nothing could have inspired the Hindoos with more astonishment than the efficacious method in which this new art had been employed by Morâd-Bakche. It was moreover universally believed that vast riches had fallen into his hands. But notwithstanding the fame acquired by this event, and all the flattering promises of Aureng-Zêbe, Shah-Abas urged him to disregard the extravagant declarations of his brother, and not rashly to throw himself into his hands. "Listen," he said, "while it is yet time, to my advice; amuse him with fair words, if you please; but do not think of joining him with your forces. Let him advance alone toward Agra. We shall by and by receive positive intelligence of your father's state of health, and see the course that events may take. In the mean time you may fortify Surat, a most important post, which will secure to you the dominion of an extensive country producing a rich revenue, and with a little manage-

ment you may become master of Burampour, also a town in a commanding situation, and the key, as it were, of the Deccan."

But the letters daily received from Aureng-Zêbe, determined Morâd-Bakche not to relax his exertions, and the wise counsel of the eunuch Shah-Abas was rejected. This acute statesman had a warm and affectionate heart, and was sincerely attached to the interests of his master. Happy would it have been for the young prince if he had listened to his sage advice; but Morâd was blinded by an inordinate thirst for dominion: his brother's letters were more and more expressive of his entire devotedness to his cause, and he considered that, if left to his own resources, he should never be able to realize those schemes of greatness that continually haunted his imagination. He therefore broke up from his encampment at Ahmedabâd, abandoned Guzerat, and made the best of his way, over mountains and through forests, to the rendezvous where Aureng-Zêbe had halted some days in expectation of his arrival.

The junction of the armies was celebrated by great rejoicings and much festivity. The two brothers were inseparable, and Aureng-Zêbe renewed his professions of unalterable affection and his protestations of complete disinterestedness. Of the kingdom, he repeated, that he most assuredly entertained no thought; he had placed himself at the head of an army for the sole purpose of combating Dara, their common foe, and of

seating Morâd on the vacant throne. During the march of the armies toward the capital, Aureng-Zêbe spoke in the same tone, and never omitted, either in private or public, to address his brother with the reverence and humility due from a subject to his sovereign, calling him Hazeret, king and majesty. Strange that Morâd should never have suspected his honesty of intention, or that the late nefarious transactions in Golconda should have made so slight an impression on his mind! but this prince was blinded by a wild ambition for empire, and incapable of perceiving that he, who had recently incurred so much infamy by his attempt to usurp a kingdom, could feel little inclination for the life of a fakir or dervise.

The combined armies formed an imposing force, and their approach created a great sensation at the seat of government. Nothing could exceed the uneasiness of Dara, and Shah-Jehan was appalled at the threatening aspect of affairs. Whatever scope he permitted to his imagination, he could conceive no event, however momentous and afflictive, which might not be brought to pass by the talents of Aureng-Zêbe and the intrepidity of Morâd-Bakche. In vain did he dispatch courier after courier announcing his convalescence, and assuring the two brothers that the whole of their proceedings should be buried in oblivion if they immediately returned to their respective governments:—the united armies continued to advance, and as the king's malady was really con-

sidered mortal, the princes had recourse to their usual dissimulation, affirming that the letters purporting to bear the king's sign-manual were surreptitious and the invention of Dara; that the Mogul was either dead or on the point of death; and that if he should happily be alive, they were desirous of prostrating themselves at his feet, and delivering him from the thraldom which he was held in by Dara.

Shah-Jehan's situation was indeed distressing: —afflicted with disease, and almost a prisoner in the hands of Dara, who, guided by a furious resentment, breathed nothing but war, and was unwearied in preparations for conducting it with vigour;—while his other children, regardless of repeated injunctions, accelerated their march toward Agra. But what a sad alternative was left him in this extremity? his treasures, he saw, must be dissipated, abandoned to his sons, and squandered at their pleasure; he was compelled to summon around him his faithful and veteran captains, who were generally unfavourable to Dara, and whom nevertheless he must command to espouse his cause, and take the field against the other princes, though in his heart the old monarch felt more affection for them than for Dara. The danger being most pressing on the side whence Sultan-Sujah was advancing, an army was immediately sent against that prince, while another was assembled in order to encounter the combined forces of Aureng-Zêbe and Morad-Bâkche.

Solimân-Shekô, Dara's eldest son, was the general nominated to the command of the corps sent to oppose Sultan-Sujah's progress. He was about five and twenty years of age, of a fine person, not without good abilities, generous and popular. He was a favourite of Shah-Jehan, from whom he had already received great riches, and who intended him for his successor in preference to Dara. As the Mogul's chief anxiety was to avoid the effusion of blood in this unnatural contest, he appointed an old rajah, named Joy-Singh, to be the companion or counsellor of his grandson. Joy-Singh is at present one of the richest rajahs in Hindostan, and perhaps the ablest man in the whole kingdom. The king gave him secret instructions to avoid, if possible, coming to an engagement, and to leave no method untried to induce Sujah to retrace his steps. "Represent to my son," he said, "that not his duty alone, but also his policy, demand the reservation of his strength for a more justifiable and promising occasion; until my malady have terminated in death, or at least until the result of the united efforts of Aureng-Zêbe and Morâd-Bakche shall be ascertained."

But all the efforts of Joy-Singh to prevent a battle proved abortive. Solimân-Shekô, on the one side, was full of military ardour, and ambitious of acquiring a great name; and, on the other, Sultan-Sujah apprehended that if he delayed his march, Aureng-Zêbe might overcome

Dara and gain possession of the two capital cities, Agra and Delhi. Thus the two armies were no sooner in sight, than a heavy cannonade commenced; but I need not detain my readers by detailing the particulars of this action, especially as I shall have to describe others of greater consequence: it is sufficient to state that the onset was impetuous on both sides, and that after a warm struggle Sultan-Sujah was obliged to give way, and at length to fly in confusion. It is certain that if Joy-Singh and his bosom friend Debere-Khan, a Patan and an excellent soldier, had not purposely held back, the rout of the enemy would have been complete, and their commander probably made prisoner. But the rajah was too prudent to lay his hands on a prince of the blood, the son of his master; and he acted conformably to the Mogul's intentions when he afforded Sultan-Sujah the means of escape. Although the loss of the enemy was inconsiderable, yet as the field of battle and a few pieces of artillery remained in Solimân-Shekô's possession, in was immediately reported at court that he had gained a decisive victory. This affair, while it raised the reputation of Solimân-Shekô, was injurious to that of Sultan-Sujah, and the ardour of the Persians who favoured his cause was proportionably abated.

Solimân-Shekô had been a few days employed in the feeble pursuit of Sujah, when he received intelligence of the rapid and resolute march of

Aureng-Zêbe and Morâd-Bakche on Agra. Aware of his father's want of conduct and prudence, and knowing that he was surrounded by secret enemies, he prudently determined to return to the capital, in the neighbourhood of which Dara would probably offer battle. Every one is of opinion that the young prince could not have adopted a wiser course; and that if he could have brought up his army in time, Aureng-Zêbe would have gained no advantage, if indeed he had ventured to engage in so unequal a contest.

Notwithstanding the success which had attended the arms of Solimân-Shekô at Allahabâd, (where the Jumna falls into the Ganges) affairs took a very different turn on the side of Agra. The government were struck with amazement when they heard that Aureng-Zêbe had crossed the river at Burampour and forced his way through all the difficult passes in the mountains, on the successful defence of which every reliance had been placed. A body of troops was hastily despatched to dispute the passage of the river at Ugein, while the main body of the army was preparing to move forward. To command this body of troops, two of the most skilful, and, in point of personal influence, two of the most powerful men, were selected. The name of the one was Kasem-Khan, a soldier of first-rate reputation, sincerely attached to Shah-Jehan, but disliking Dara: he assumed the command very reluctantly, and only in obedience to the Mogul. The

other was the Rajah Jesswint-Singh, who in importance and authority yielded not to Joy-Singh. He was son-in-law of the famous and powerful Rajah-Ranâ, who lived in the reign of Acbar, and was prince of the rajahs.

Dara addressed these two generals in the most affectionate terms, and presented them with costly gifts on their departure with the troops: but Shah-Jehan privately suggested the same measures of caution and forbearance, which were practised in the case of Sultan-Sujah. The consequence was that messenger after messenger was sent to Aureng-Zêbe to beg that he would retire; but while there appeared this indecision on one side, all was activity and resolution on the other: the messengers never returned, and the enemy unexpectedly crowned an eminence at a short distance from the river.

It was summer, and the heat was intense; the river therefore became fordable. Kasem-Khan and the rajah prepared for battle on perceiving, as they apprehended, a disposition on the part of Aureng-Zêbe to force the river. But in point of fact, the whole of his army was not yet come up, and this was only a feint; for he feared that the enemy's troops might themselves cross the stream, cut him off from the water, attack him before the soldiers had recovered from their fatigue, and thus prevent him from taking up an advantageous position. It appears certain indeed that he was at this time totally incapable of opposing any

effectual resistance, and that Kasem-Khan and the rajah might have obtained an easy victory. I was not present at this rencounter; but such was the opinion entertained by every spectator, especially by the French officers in Aureng-Zêbe's artillery. The two commanders, however, were compelled by their secret orders quietly to take a position on the banks of the river*, and to content themselves with disputing the passage.

His army having rested two or three days, Aureng-Zêbe made the necessary dispositions for forcing the passage. Placing his artillery in a commanding position, he ordered the troops to move forward under cover of its fire. His progress was opposed by the cannon of the enemy, and the combat was at first maintained with great obstinacy. Jesswint-Singh displayed extraordinary valour, disputing every inch of ground with skill and pertinacity. With regard to Kasem-Khan, although it cannot be denied that he deserved the celebrity he had hitherto enjoyed, yet upon the present occasion he approved himself neither a dexterous general nor a courageous soldier: he was even suspected of treachery, and of having concealed in the sand, during the night that preceded the battle, the greater part of his ammunition, a few vollies having left the army without powder or ball. However this may be, the action was well supported and the passage vigorously opposed. The assailants

* The Nirbidda.

were much incommoded by rocks in the bed of the river; and the uncommon height of its banks, in many parts, rendered it extremely difficult to gain a footing on the other side. The impetuosity of Morâd-Bakche at length overcame every impediment; he reached the opposite bank with his corps, and was quickly followed by the remainder of the army. It was then that Kasem-Khan ingloriously fled from the field, leaving Jesswint-Singh exposed to the most imminent peril. That undaunted rajah was beset on all sides by an overwhelming force, and saved only by the affecting devotion of his rajaputs, the far greater part of whom died at his feet. Fewer than six hundred of these brave men, whose number at the commencement of the action amounted to nearly eight thousand, survived the carnage of that dreadful day. With this faithful remnant Jesswint-Singh retired to his own territory, not considering it prudent to return to Agra.

The word rajaputs signifies *sons of rajahs.* These people are educated from one generation to another in the profession of arms. Parcels of land are assigned to them for their maintenance by the rajahs whose subjects they are, on condition that they shall appear in the field on the summons of their chieftain. They might be said to form a species of pagan nobility, if the land were inalienable and descended to their children. From an early age they are accustomed to the use of opium, and I have sometimes been astonished

to see the large quantity they swallow. On the day of battle they never fail to double the dose, and this drug so animates, or rather inebriates them, that they rush into the thickest of the combat insensible of danger. If the rajah be himself a brave man, he need never entertain an apprehension of being deserted by his rajaputs: they may want conduct, but their minds are made up to die in his presence rather than abandon him to his enemies. It is an interesting sight to see them on the eve of a battle, with the fumes of opium in their heads, embrace and bid adieu to one another as if certain of death. Who then can wonder that the Great Mogul, though a musulman, and as such an enemy to heathens, always keeps in his service a large retinue of rajahs, treating them with the same consideration as the Muhammedan omrahs, and appointing them to important commands in his armies?*

I may here relate the ungracious reception

* The rajaputs of Agimere, inhabiting rugged mountains and close vallies, are (observes Major Rennell) in respect of Hindostan what the Swiss are to Europe; but their country is much more extensive and populous. From Mahmud to Aureng-Zêbe, the Indian conquerors were contented with the nominal subjection of those hardy tribes; among whom, military enthusiasm, grafted on religious principles, is added to strength and agility of body. This race is disseminated over a tract equal to half the extent of France. It goes under the general name of rajaputana, and is the original country of the founder of the Mahratta state, whose rulers, about the middle of the seventh century, aspired to universal empire in Hindostan.—*Translator.*

experienced by the valiant Jesswint-Singh from his wife, the daughter of Rana. When it was announced that he was approaching with his gallant band of about five hundred rajaputs, the melancholy remnant of nearly eight thousand, at the head of whom he had fought with noble intrepidity, quitting the field from necessity, but not with dishonour; instead of sending to congratulate the gallant soldier on his escape, and console him in his misfortune, she sternly commanded that the gates of the castle should be closed against him. "The man is covered with infamy," she said, "and he shall not enter within these walls. I disown him for my husband, and these eyes can never again behold Jesswint-Singh. No son-in-law of Rana can possess a soul so object. He who is allied to his illustrious house must imitate the virtues of that great man: if he cannot vanquish, he should die." The next moment the temper of her mind took another turn. "Prepare the funeral pile," she exclaimed. "The fire shall consume my body. I am deceived; my husband is certainly dead; it cannot possibly be otherwise:" and then again, transported with rage, she broke into the bitterest reproaches. In this humour she continued eight or nine days, refusing the whole of that time to see her husband. The arrival of her mother was attended, however, with a beneficial effect: she, in some measure, appeased and comforted her daughter, by solemnly promising, in the rajah's name, that as soon as he should

be somewhat recovered from his fatigue, he would collect a second army, attack Aureng-Zêbe, and fully retrieve his reputation.

This anecdote may serve as a specimen of the spirit which animates the women of this country. I might mention several instances of the same kind, having seen many wives burn themselves after the death of their husbands: but these are details which I reserve for another place; where I shall, at the same time, shew the ascendancy which prejudice, hope, the force of opinion, and the principle of honour have over the human mind.

When Dara was made acquainted with the calamitous events that had occurred at Ugein, the violence of his rage would have hurried him into a course of the most extravagant conduct, if he had not been restrained by the arguments and moderation of Shah-Jehan. That Kasem-Khan, had he been within his reach, would have paid the forfeit of his head, can scarcely be doubted; and Emir-Jemla being regarded as the primary and principal cause of the present crisis, (since it was he who supplied Aureng-Zêbe with troops and money), Dara would have killed his son Mahmet Emir-Khan and sent his wife and daughter to the bazaar, or market for women of pleasure, had he not at length yielded to the suggestions of the king, who shewed the extreme improbability of the emir's concurrence in the measures of Aureng-Zêbe. His judgment was too sound, he observed, to allow of his placing his family in jeopardy, for

the sake of advancing the interests of a man for whom he could feel no warmth of friendship. On the contrary, it was sufficiently obvious that he had been himself deceived and had fallen into the wiles of Aureng-Zêbe.

The invaders, in the mean time, were flushed with success, impressed with an idea of their invincibility, and persuaded that there was no object, however difficult and stupendous, which they might not achieve. Still more to increase the confidence of his troops, Aureng-Zêbe vaunted aloud that in Dara's army there were thirty thousand Moguls devoted to his service; and that this was not entirely an empty boast, will soon be made apparent. Moràd-Bakche felt impatient of delay, and expressed his eagerness to push forward; but his brother repressed this ardour, representing the necessity of some repose on the banks of the beautiful Nirbidda, especially as it would afford an opportunity for corresponding with his friends, and ascertaining the situation of affairs. The advance on Agra was therefore slow and circumspect, exactly regulated by the information daily received.

Shah-Jehan was now reduced to a state of hopelessness and misery. He saw that his sons were not to be turned aside from their determination to enter the capital, and viewed with dismay the mighty preparation made by Dara for a decisive battle. He had a prescience of the terrible evils impending over his house, which he

endeavoured by every expedient to avert. He was not in a situation, however, to resist the wishes of Dara, for he still continued to labour under the influence of disease, and was the servant rather than the sovereign of his eldest son. To that son he had long been compelled to resign all authority, and the military commanders, as well as the officers of the state, were instructed to yield implicit obedience to the orders of Dara. It is not surprising, therefore, that this prince was enabled to assemble a numerous army, finer than perhaps had ever trod the plains of Hindostan. The lowest calculation makes it amount to one hundred thousand horse, twenty thousand foot, and eighty pieces of cannon; besides an incredible number of servants, followers, and purveyors, so necessary for the support of an army in peace as well as in war, and who, I suspect, are often included by historians in the number of combatants, when they speak of immense armies of three or four hundred thousand men. Unquestionably, that under Dara's command was sufficient, in point of physical strength, to overwhelm two or three such armies as Aureng-Zêbe's, whose utmost force could not exceed forty thousand men of all arms, and these harassed and nearly worn out by long marches under a vertical sun. Yet, notwithstanding this disparity of numbers, no one seemed to presage success to Dara; the only troops on whose fidelity he could depend being with the army under Solimân-Shekô, and

the principal omrahs having manifested symptoms of disaffection to his interests. His friends therefore, earnestly recommended him not to hazard an engagement. Shah-Jehan was most urgent on this point, offering, infirm as he was, to assume the chief command, and to be conveyed in front of Aureng-Zêbe's army. This scheme was admirably adapted to preserve peace, and to arrest the progress of that haughty prince: neither he nor Morâd-Bakche would probably have felt disposed to fight against their father: or, if they had ventured upon such a step, their ruin must have been the consequence; for Shah-Jehan was popular among all the omrahs, and the whole army, including the troops under the two brothers, was enthusiastically attached to his person.

Failing in their attempt to prevent an appeal to the sword, Dara's friends exhausted every argument to dissuade him, at least, from acting with precipitancy, and to induce him to delay the battle until the arrival of Soliman-Shekô, who was hastening to his assistance. This also was sound advice, the young prince being generally beloved, and returning at the head of a victorious army, composed of soldiers, as I have before observed, attached to Dara. But he rejected this, as he had done the former proposition, and remained inflexible in his resolution to anticipate Aureng-Zêbe and bring him immediately to action.

If indeed Dara could have commanded fortune,

and controlled events, his own reputation and peculiar interest might have been promoted by such a procedure. These were the considerations that actuated him, and which he could not altogether conceal:—he was master of the king's person; in possession of his treasure, and enjoying undivided authority over the royal armies. Sultan-Sujah was already half ruined; his other brothers were come, with a weak and worn out army, voluntarily, as it were, to throw themselves into his hands. Once defeated, they would have no way of escape; he would then become absolute lord, attain the end of his labours, and ascend the throne without competition or difficulty. If he entrusted the management of the campaign to his father, an amicable accommodation would take place; his brothers would return quietly to their respective provinces; Shah-Jehan, whose health was evidently improving, would resume the reins of government, and affairs revert to their former state. If, again, he awaited the arrival of his son Solimân-Shekô, the king might employ the interval in forming some design to his disadvantage, or enter into negociation with Aureng-Zêbe injurious to his interests; and, admitting that after the junction of his son's army, a battle were fought and gained, the part which he might have had in the success of the day would be denied him, and the honour of the achievement rest with Solimân-Shekô, whose military reputation was already known and established

Then, who could tell the effect which the general applause might produce on his youthful and ardent mind, countenanced as he would be by his grandfather, and many of the chief omrahs? There was no saying how boundless his ambition might become, or how little it might be restrained by the affection and respect he owed to his father.

Such were the reasons which induced Dara to turn a deaf ear to the voice of prudence and friendship. He ordered the whole army to take the field, and presented himself before Shah-Jehan, then in the fortress of Agra, for the purpose of bidding him farewell. As his father embraced him, the unhappy old man shed tears; but addressing him in a grave and serious tone, he said, "Well, my son, since you will have it your own way, may heaven bless your undertaking! but remember this, my injunction;—if the battle be lost have a care how you come again into my presence!" Little impressed with these words, Dara took a hasty leave of the king, and marched his army to the river Chumbul, about twenty leagues from Agra, where having fortified himself he waited with confidence the arrival of the enemy. But the quick-sighted and wily fakir, who was every where provided with spies, fully aware of the difficulty of passing the river when thus defended, came indeed, and encamped sufficiently near to have his tents descried by Dara, but was at the same time intriguing with a rajah of the

name of Chempet, whom he gained over by presents and promises, and through whose territory he obtained permission to march his army for the purpose of reaching speedily that part of the river where it is fordable. Chempet even undertook to be his guide through forests and over mountains which perhaps were considered impracticable by Dara; and Aureng-Zêbe, leaving his tents standing to deceive his brother, had crossed with his troops to the other side of the Chumbul, almost as soon as the enemy was apprized of his departure.* In this emergency, Dara was compelled to abandon his fortifications, and pursue Aureng-Zêbe, who advanced by rapid strides towards the river Jumna, on the banks of which he had time to intrench himself, refresh his men, and in his turn, await composedly the approach of the enemy. The position chosen by him was five

* Colonel Dow does not notice the Rajah Chempet; but states that Shaista-Khan, who was third in command in the Imperial army, informed Aureng-Zêbe, that to attempt forcing the lines of Dara would be folly, and that the only means left him was to leave his camp standing to divert Dara's attention, and to march through the hills by a bye-road, which two chiefs, who were directed to attend him in the evening, would point out. The princes closed with the proposal. The guides joined them in the evening, and they decamped with the greatest silence, leaving their tents, baggage, and artillery under a strong guard, who were to amuse the enemy. The army moved about thirty miles that night; and the next day they were discovered by the scouts of Dara, in full march towards Agra.—*Translator.*

leagues distant from Agra; the name of the place which was formerly called Samonguer, is now Fateabad or the *Place of Victory*. Dara soon came up, and encamped also near the banks of the same river, between Agra and Aureng-Zêbe.

The two armies remained in sight of each other three or four days without coming to an engagement. During this interval, Shah-Jehan sent letter upon letter to Dara, apprizing him of Solimân-Shekô's near approach, and entreating him to do nothing rashly or prematurely; but to draw closer to Agra, and select advantageous ground whereon to intrench his army until the arrival of his son. The only answer returned by Dara to these letters was, that three days should not elapse ere he brought Aureng-Zêbe and Morâd-Bakche, bound hands and feet, to his father, who might pass such judgment upon his rebellious sons as to him should seem meet. This answer dispatched, he prepared for battle.

He placed the whole of his cannon in front, linked together by chains of iron, in order that no space might be left for the entrance of the enemy's cavalry. Immediately in the rear of the cannon, he ranged a line of light camels, on the fore part of whose bodies small pieces of ordnance, somewhat resembling swivels in our vessels, were fixed: these the rider could charge and discharge at pleasure, without being obliged to dismount. Behind these camels, was posted the most considerable part of the musketeers. The rest of the

army consisted principally of cavalry, armed either with sabres, and those kind of half-pikes used by the rajaputs; or with sabres and bows and arrows; which latter weapon is generally used by the Moguls, that is, (according to the present acceptation of the term Mogul) foreigners whose complexions are white, and who profess muhammedanism; such as Persians, Turks, Arabs, and Usbees.

The army was formed into three divisions. The command of the right wing, consisting of thirty thousand Moguls, was given to Calil-ullah-Khan, and the left wing was entrusted to Rustum-Khan-Dakny, a brave and famous captain, conjointly with the Rajahs-Sittersal and Ram-Singh-Routlé. Calil-ullah had been made Bakchis, or grand master of the horse, in the stead of Danechmend-Khan (afterward my Aga) who resigned that situation because he knew that he had incurred Dara's displeasure by his solicitude to uphold the sole and unshackled authority of Shah-Jehan.

Aureng-Zêbe and Morâd-Bakche made a nearly similar disposition of their forces, excepting that among the troops of the omrahs, stationed on either flank, a few pieces of field artillery were intermixed and concealed; a stratagem invented, it is said, by Emir-Jemla, and attended with some success. I am not aware that in this battle recourse was had to any other artifice, unless it were that of a certain species of rocket, which was thrown, from various parts of the line, among the

enemy's cavalry, and which produced the effect of terrifying the horses, and sometimes of killing the men.

It cannot be denied that the cavalry of this country manœuvre with much ease, and discharge their arrows with astonishing quickness; a dragoon shooting six times before a musketeer can fire twice. They also preserve excellent order, and keep in a compact body, especially when charging the enemy. But, after all, I do not think very highly of their proficiency in the art of war, as compared with that of Europeans, for reasons which I shall mention in another part of this work.

The preparations I have described being completed, the artillery of both armies opened their fire, the invariable mode of commencing an engagement; and the arrows were already thick in the air, when suddenly there fell a shower of rain so violent as to interrupt the work of slaughter for a while. The weather had no sooner cleared than the sound of cannon was again heard, and Dara was at this time seen seated on a beautiful elephant of Ceylon, issuing his orders for a general onset; and, placing himself at the head of a numerous body of horse, advanced boldly toward the enemy's cannon. He was received with firmness, and soon surrounded by heaps of slain. And not only the body which he led to the attack, but those by which he was followed, were thrown into disorder. Still did he retain an admirable calmness, and evince his immoveable determination not

to recede. He was observed on his elephant looking about him with an undaunted air, and marking the progress of the action. The troops were animated by his example, and the fugitives resumed their ranks; the charge was repeated, but he could not come up to the enemy before another volley carried death and dismay among the assailants: many took to flight; but the greater part seemed to have imbibed Dara's spirit, and followed their intrepid commander, until the cannon were forced, the iron chains disengaged, the enemy's camp entered, and the camels and infantry put completely to the rout. It was now that the cavalry of both armies coming in contact, the battle raged with the greatest fierceness. Showers of arrows obscured the air, Dara himself emptying his quiver: these weapons, however, produce but little effect, nine out of ten flying over the soldier's heads, or falling short. The arrows discharged, the sword was drawn, and the contending squadrons fought hand to hand, both sides appearing to increase in obstinacy in proportion as the sword performed its murderous work. During the whole of this tremendous conflict, Dara afforded undeniable proofs of invincible courage, raising the voice of encouragement and command, and performing such feats of valour that he succeeded at length in overthrowing the enemy's cavalry, and compelling it to fly.

Aureng-Zêbe, who was at no great distance, and mounted also on an elephant, endeavoured,

but without success, to retrieve the disasters of the day. He attempted to make head against Dara with a strong body of his choicest cavalry; but it was likewise driven from the field in great confusion. Here I cannot avoid commending his bravery and resolution. He saw that nearly the whole of the army under his immediate command was defeated and put to flight; the number which remained unbroken and collected about his person not exceeding one thousand; (I have been told it scarcely amounted to five hundred) he found that Dara, notwithstanding the extreme ruggedness of the ground which separated them, evidently intended to rush upon his remaining little band; yet did he not betray the slightest symptom of fear, or even an inclination to retreat; but calling many of his principal officers by name, exclaimed *Deliranê!* (courage my friends) *Koda-hê* (God is) *What hope can we find in flight? Know ye not where is our Deccan? Koda-hê! Koda-hê!** and then, to remove all doubt of his resolution, and to shew that he thought of nothing less than a retreat, he commanded (strange expedient!) that chains should be fastened to the feet of his elephant; a command he would undoubtedly have seen obeyed, if all those who were about him had not given the strongest assurances of their unsubdued spirit and unshaken fidelity.

* I am repeating his exact words.

Dara all this time meditated an advance upon Aureng-Zêbe, but was retarded by the difficulty of the ground and by the enemy's cavalry, which, though in disorder, still covered the hills and plains that intervened between the two commanders. Certainly he ought to have felt that without the destruction or capture of his brother, victory would be incomplete; nor should he have suffered any consideration to move him from his purpose of attacking Aureng-Zêbe, now that he was so clearly incapable of offering effectual resistance. He had an easy opportunity to crush this formidable rival; but the circumstance I am about to relate distracted his attention, and saved Aureng-Zêbe from the impending danger.

Dara perceived at this critical moment that his left wing was in disorder; and an aid-de-camp bringing him intelligence of the deaths of Rustum-Khan and Sittersal, and of the imminent peril into which Ram-Singh-Routlé was placed in consequence of having valiantly burst through the enemy, by whom he was, however, entirely surrounded. Dara abandoned the idea of pushing toward Aureng-Zêbe, and determined to fly to the succour of the left wing. After a great deal of hard fighting, Dara's presence turned the tide of fortune, and the enemy was driven back at all points: but the rout was not so complete as to leave him without occupation. Meanwhile Ram-Singh-Routlê was opposed to Morâd-Bakche, and performing prodigies of valour. The rajah wounded

the prince, and approached so near as to cut some of the bands by which the amari was fixed upon the elephant, hoping in that way to bring his antagonist to the earth; but the intrepidity and adroitness of Morâd-Bakche did not permit him to accomplish his object. Though wounded, and beset on all sides by the rajaputs, the prince disdained to yield: he dealt his blows with terrible effect, throwing at the same time his shield over his son, a lad of seven years of age, seated at his side; and discharged an arrow with so unerring an aim that the rajah fell dead on the spot.

It was not long before Dara was made acquainted with the serious loss he had sustained; and hearing also that Morâd-Bakche was hemmed in by the rajaputs, rendered furious by the death of their master, he determined, notwithstanding every obstacle, to advance to the attack of that prince; the only measure by which he could hope to repair the error committed in suffering Aureng-Zêbe to escape: but even this step was rendered abortive by an act of treachery, which involved Dara in immediate and irretrievable ruin.

Calil-ullah-Khan, who commanded the right wing, consisting of thirty thousand Moguls, a force which alone was sufficient to destroy Aureng-Zêbe's army, kept aloof from the engagement, while Dara, at the head of the left wing, fought with courage and success. The traitor pretended

that his division was designed for a corps of reserve, and that he could not, consistently with his orders, move one step, or discharge a single arrow, until the last extremity: but the blackest perfidy was the cause of his inaction.

A few years prior to this period, Calil-ullah had suffered some indignity at the hands of Dara, and he considered the hour arrived when he might gratify the resentment which had never ceased to rankle in his bosom. His abstinence from all share in the battle, did not, however, produce the mischief intended, Dara having proved victorious without the co-operation of the right wing. The traitor, therefore, had recourse to another expedient. He quitted his division, followed by a few persons, and riding with speed towards Dara, precisely at the moment when that prince was hastening to assist in the downfal of Morad-Bakche, he exclaimed, while yet at some distance, "Mohbarek-bad, Hazaret, Salamet, Elhamd-ul-ellah; May you be happy! May your Majesty enjoy health and reign in safety! The victory is your own! But let me ask, why are you still mounted on this lofty elephant? Have you not been sufficiently exposed to danger? If one of the numberless arrows, or balls, which have pierced your canopy had touched your person, who can imagine the dreadful situation to which we should be reduced? In heaven's name, descend quickly and mount your horse; nothing now remains but

to pursue the fugitives with vigour. I entreat your majesty, permit them not to escape."

Had Dara considered the consequences of quitting the back of his elephant on which he had displayed so much valour, and served as a rallying point to the army, he would have become master of the empire ; but the credulous prince, duped by the artful obsequiousness of Calil-ullah, listened to his advice as though it had been sincere. He descended from the elephant, and mounted his horse ; but a quarter of an hour had not elapsed when, suspecting the imposture, he enquired impatiently or Calil-ullah. The villain was not, however, within his reach : he inveighed vehemently against that officer, and threatened him with death ; but Dara's rage was now impotent, and his menace incapable of being executed. The troops having missed their prince, a rumour quickly spread that he was killed, and the army betrayed ; an universal panic seized them ; every man thought only of his own safety, and how to escape from the resentment of Aureng-Zêbe. In a few minutes the army seemed disbanded, and (strange and sudden reverse!) the conqueror became the vanquished. Aureng-Zêbe remained during a quarter of an hour steadily on his elephant, and was rewarded with the crown of Hindostan: Dara left his own elephant a few minutes too soon, and was hurled from the pinnacle of glory, to be numbered among the most miserable of princes: —so short sighted is man, and so mighty are the

consequences which sometimes flow from the most trivial incident.*

These immense armies frequently perform great feats; but when thrown into confusion it is impossible to restore them to discipline. They resemble an impetuous river which has burst its banks; and whose waters, unrestrained in their course, disperse over the surrounding country, while no means can be devised to arrest them in their career of desolation. I could never see these soldiers, destitute of order, and marching with the irregularity of a herd of animals, without reflecting upon the ease with which five and twenty thousand of our veterans from the army in Flanders, commanded by Prince Condé or Marshal Turenne, would overcome an Indian army, however numerous. I am no longer incredulous, or even astonished, when I read of the exploits of the ten thousand Greeks, or of the achievements of the fifty thousand Macedonians under Alexander, though opposed to six or seven hundred thousand men; if, indeed, it be true that the armies of Darius amounted to so many, and that the servants, and various other persons employed to procure provisions, were not comprehended in this number. By receiving the onset with their usual steadiness, the French troops would throw any Indian army into consternation; or they might, as Alexander did,

* See note A at the end of the volume.

direct their chief effort to a particular part of the line; and the success attending such a movement would fill the enemy with terror, and occasion an immediate and general dispersion.

Aureng-Zêbe determined to derive every possible benefit from this unexpected and almost miraculous victory; and, to insure the attainment of the sole object of his desire, absolute dominion, resorted to every kind of unprincipled base intrigue. The perfidious Calil-ullah soon appeared in his presence, profferring his submission, and the services of whatever portion of the troops he might seduce from their first allegiance. The prince thanked him, and loaded him with promises, but was cautious not to receive him in his own name. He accompanied him to Morâd-Bakche, by whom the traitor was hailed, as may easily be imagined, with every profession of kindness. During this interview Aureng-Zêbe addressed his brother as the acknowledged sovereign of India, observing to Calil-ullah that it was Morâd-Bakche alone who was qualified to wear the crown, and that the victory was gained only by the skilful conduct and irresistible valour of that prince.

Notwithstanding this semblance of fealty to his younger brother, Aureng-Zêbe was actively employed, day and night, in writing to the omrahs, whom he brought over gradually to his party. Shaista-Khan, his uncle, was unwearied in promoting the views of his nephew, and was

indeed an invaluable coadjutor, being active, intelligent, and possessed of extensive influence. He had the reputation of writing the most insinuating letter, and using the most persuasive eloquence, of any man in Hindostan. It is known that owing to some real or imaginary affront he greatly disliked Dara, and therefore embraced this opportunity of contributing to his downful. Aureng-Zêbe concealed under the garb of disinterestedness and purity of intention, his raging passion for sovereignty. Every thing that was done, the negotiations entered into, and the promises made, all was in Morad-Bakche's name: from him every command was to emanate, and he was to be regarded as the destined king of India. Aureng-Zêbe acted only as his lieutenant, as his zealous and dutiful subject; the turmoils of government were ill suited to the disposition of his mind; to live and die a fakir was his firm and inflexible resolution!

As for Dara, he was weighed down with despondency and terror. He repaired with all diligence to Agra, but did not venture in his father's presence; for his last injunction still sounded in his ear. The old monarch nevertheless sent a faithful eunuch to condole with the unhappy prince, to assure him of his unalterable affection, and of the grief into which he was plunged by the late disaster. "But," added the king, "there is surely no reason for despair while the army under Solimân-Shekô remains unbroken. For the pre-

sent, I advise you to take the road to Delhi, where you will find a thousand horses in the royal stables; and the governor has my orders to furnish you with money and elephants. You should not withdraw to a greater distance than prudence may demand; I shall write frequently, and wish you to be within easy reach of my letters. I still think I possess the means of bringing Aureng-Zêbe into my power, and of inflicting due chastisement upon him." So utterly cast down, so absorbed in sorrow was Dara, that he could frame no answer to this affecting communication, or even transmit a formal acknowledgment of it to his father. He sent several messages to Begum-Saheb, and departed at midnight, with his wife, daughters, and his son Tipper-Shekô, accompanied by only three or four hundred persons. We shall leave him pursuing his melancholy way to Delhi, while we consider the deep policy and consummate address which marked the conduct of Aureng-Zêbe on his arrival at Agra.

One of his first measures was to gain over, or at least to sow the seeds of disunion, among the troops commanded by Solimân-Shekô, and thus destroy Dara's last hope of retrieving his fortunes. He therefore represented to the rajah Joy-Singh and to Debere-Khan, the principal officers in that army, the utter ruin of Dara's affairs. The formidable force on which he founded such confident hopes of success (observed Aureng-Zêbe) after sustaining a total overthrow, had come over

to his standard. Dara was now a fugitive, unattended by a single regiment, and must soon fall into his hands; and, with respect to Shah-Jehan, such was the state of his health, that no expectation could be entertained of his surviving many days. It was evident that they were engaged in a cause which was now desperate, and that a longer adherence to Dara's fallen fortune would be the extreme of imprudence. He counselled them to consult their best interests by joining his army, and bringing with them Solimân-Shekô, whose person they might easily seize.

Joy-Singh and Debere-Khan hesitated for some time as to the line of conduct they should pursue. They still feared Shah-Jehan and Dara, and dreaded the consequence of laying their hands on a prince of the blood; a violence not likely to escape punishment, sooner or later, though that punishment should be inflicted by Aureng-Zêbe himself. They were acquainted too, with the high and undaunted spirit of Solimân-Shekô, and could have no doubt that the prince would die rather than submit to the loss of liberty.

It was at length decided by the two generals that Joy-Singh should repair to Solimân-Shekô's tent, shew him the overtures made by Aureng-Zêbe, and disclose frankly the whole state of his mind. "I ought not to disguise from you," he told the prince, "the danger of your situation: you can depend neither upon Debere-Khan, Daoud-Khan, nor upon any part of the troops; and, by ad-

vancing to the relief of your father, you may involve yourself in irretrievable ruin. In this emergency you cannot do better than seek refuge in the mountains of Serinagur. The rajah of that country will receive you kindly; his territory is inaccessible, and he can be in no dread of Aureng-Zêbe. While in this secure retreat, you may calmly observe the progress of events, and descend from your mountains when a favourable occasion shall arise."

The young prince could not fail to understand from this discourse, that he had lost all authority both with Joy-Singh and the troops, and that he should endanger the safety of his own person if he refused to relinquish the command: he yielded therefore to the sad necessity of the case, and proceeded toward the mountains. He was attended by a few affectionate friends, chiefly Manseb-dars and Siads. The bulk of the army remained with the rajah and Debere-Khan, who had the baseness to send a body of men to plunder the prince's baggage. Among other booty, they seized an elephant laden with golden rupees. Many of Solimân-Shekô's attendants, discouraged by this disgraceful outrage, deserted him, and the peasantry after spoiling them even assassinated many of the prince's followers. He made his way, however, to Serinagur with his wife and family, and was received with the honours due to his rank; the rajah assuring him he should be in perfect security while in his

territory, and that he would assist him with all his forces.—We must now resume the thread of our narrative, as it relates to the occurrences on the side of Agra.

Three or four days after the battle of Samongeur, the combined princes presented themselves before the gate of the city, in a garden, about a league distant from the fortress. They then dispatched a message to Shah-Jehan, by an eunuch in the confidence of Aureng-Zêbe, and possessing all his address and deceit. This man saluted the aged monarch in the name of his master, assured him of his undiminished respect and affection, and expressed his deep sorrow for the events which had recently taken place, events attributable to the inordinate ambition and sinister designs of Dara. He begged leave most sincerely to congratulate his august parent on the improvement which was manifesting itself in the state of his health, and declared that he was come to Agra only to receive and execute his commands.

Shah-Jehan affected to approve of his son's conduct, and expressed himself satisfied with these expressions of allegiance. He was, however, too well acquainted with his hypocrisy and love of power, to place any confidence in his protestations; yet, instead of acting with decision, shewing himself to his people, and assembling his omrahs, for which there was still time, he chose rather to try his own skill in artifice and dissimulation with Aureng-Zêbe, who surpassed all men

in both. It is not surprising, therefore, that the father fell into the snare which he had spread for his son. He sent a trusty eunuch to say how sensible he was not only of the improper behaviour of Dara, but also of his incapacity; to remind Aureng-Zêbe of the peculiar tenderness he had ever borne him, and to request he would visit his affectionate father, that such arrangements might be concluded as the present distracted state of affairs rendered necessary. The cautious prince likewise mistrusted the Mogul; for he knew that Begum-Saheb quitted him neither night nor day; that he was completely under her controul; that she had dictated the message, and that there were collected in the fortress several large and robust Tartar women, such as are employed in the seraglio, for the purpose of falling upon him, with arms in their hands, as soon as he entered the fortress. Aureng-Zêbe would not, therefore, venture within its walls; and though he repeatedly fixed the day for obeying his father's summons, he as often deferred it to the morrow. Meanwhile, he continued his secret machinations, and sounded the opinion of the most powerful omrahs, until having well digested his plans, the public all at once found to their astonishment that his son, Sultan-Mahmud, had taken possession of the fortress. This enterprising young man having posted a number of men in the vicinity, entered the place on the plea of visiting the Mogul, with a message from Aureng-Zêbe, and fell suddenly on the

guards stationed at the gate: he was quickly followed by his men, who overcame the unsuspecting garrison, and made themselves masters of the fortress.

The dismay of Shah-Jehan will be easily conceived: he was now in the power of one whose imprisonment he had contemplated for a long time. It is said that the unhappy monarch sent at once a message to Sultan Mahmud promising, on his crown and the Koran, to nominate him king provided he served him faithfully in this conjuncture. "Come to me," added the Mogul, "and lose not this opportunity of delivering your grandfather from prison; an act which will obtain for you the blessing of heaven, and a glorious name that shall never die."

If Sultan-Mahmud had possessed sufficient daring to close with these proposals, it appears extremely probable that he might have supplanted his father. Shah-Jehan's influence was still powerful, and if he had been permitted to leave the citadel, and to assume the personal command of the troops, I have reason to believe that they would have acknowledged his authority, and the leading omrahs remained faithful to his government.

It is the general opinion that Sultan Mahmud committed the same error upon this occasion, as his grandfather had done after the battle of Samongeur. And, as I am again led to the subject, it is fair I should observe that there are several

politicians who contend that, considering all the circumstances of his situation, the aged monarch, after the defeat of Dara, adopted the most prudent course in remaining within the fortress, and endeavouring to overcome Aureng-Zêbe by stratagem. It is the vulgar practice, these people say, to judge of the wisdom of every plan according to the event by which it is followed: the worst digested schemes are frequently attended with success, and then they are applauded by all the world; and if, as there was reason to expect, the appearance of affection and good will toward Aureng-Zêbe, assumed by Shah-Jehan, had enabled him to seize the person of that prince, he would be extolled for sagacity and wisdom, as much as he is now contemned for being, as is injuriously said, a mere driveller, guided by his Begum, a woman whose passions blinded her understanding, and whose vanity led her to believe that Aureng-Zêbe would hasten to visit her; in other words, that the bird would, of his own accord, fly into the cage. But to return to Sultan Mahmud.—It is inconceivable, according to the politicians of this country, that he did not eagerly grasp at a sceptre which seemed to fall into his hands; especially when, by thus gratifying his ambition, he would have gained a reputation for tenderness and generosity. By restoring his grandfather to freedom, this young prince might have become the sovereign arbiter of affairs; whereas

he is now probably destined to terminate his existence in the fortress of Gualior.*

Few will believe that Sultan Mahmud was restrained by a sense of duty to his father from acceding to the wishes of Shah-Jehan: it is more likely that he doubted the sincerity of the king's promises, and felt all the danger of disputing the crown with a man endued with the mental energy and imposing talents of Aureng-Zêbe. Whatever were his motives, he disregarded the offers of the unhappy prisoner, and even refused to enter his apartments, alleging that he was not authorised to visit him, but had received positive orders not to return to his father without carrying away with him the keys of every gate in the castle, in order that Aureng-Zêbe might come in perfect security for the purpose of kissing his majesty's feet. For the space of nearly two days, Shah-Jehan could not persuade himself to surrender the keys; but observing that his people were gradually deserting him, especially the soldiers stationed at the little gate, and that he was no longer safe, he delivered the keys at length into the hands of Sultan Mahmud, with an injunction to Aureng-Zêbe to come to him without farther delay, if he were wise, as he had secrets of the greatest moment to disclose. But the fakir's wariness had not for-

* This prince died in prison in the castle of Gualior in the year 1665, that is, in the seventh year of Aureng-Zêbe's reign.—*Translator.*

saken him, and so far from obeying the injunction, he immediately appointed his eunuch Etabârkhan, governor of the fortress, by whose orders Shah-Jehan, Begum-Saheb, and the whole of the women, were closely confined. Many gates of the castle were also walled up, and all intercourse between the Mogul and his friends was effectually prevented. He was not even permitted to leave his apartment without the knowledge of the governor.

At this period Aureng-Zêbe wrote a letter to his father which, before he sealed it, was shewn to every body. "I cannot better explain my conduct," observed the prince, "than by stating that while you professed extraordinary partiality for me, and expressed your displeasure at Dara's proceedings, I was informed, on indisputable authority, that you had sent him two elephants laden with golden rupees. Thus is he furnished with means to collect new armies, and to prolong this disastrous war; I therefore put it to your candour whether I am not driven by his pertinacity to resort to measures which appear harsh and unnatural? Is he not, properly speaking, the cause of your imprisonment? and is it not owing to him that I have so long been deprived of the pleasure of throwing myself at your feet, and discharging the duties, and paying the attentions, you have a right to demand from an affectionate son? It only remains for me to beg that you will pardon what now seems strange in my conduct, and to recom-

mend the exercise of patience under the temporary loss of liberty; for be assured that, as soon as Dara shall be rendered incapable of disturbing our repose, I shall fly to the citadel, and with my own hands, open the doors of your prison."

I have been told that Shah-Jehan did, in fact, send the elephants, with the rupees, to Dara, on the very night of his departure from Delhi, and that it was Rochinara-Begum who communicated the information to Aureng-Zêbe. That princess also apprized him of the presence of the Tartar women, by whom it was intended he should be assailed, when he entered the castle. It is even said that this prince intercepted some letters written by his father to Dara.

Many intelligent persons, however, deny the truth of these allegations, and contend that the letter, thus generally exhibited, was a mere invention to deceive the public, and to reconcile them to the outrageous measures of which the Mogul's adherents had so much right to complain. Be the truth what it may, it is certain that the close confinement of Shah-Jehan seemed the signal for nearly the whole body of omrahs to pay their court to Aureng-Zêbe and Morâd-Bakche. I can indeed scarcely repress my indignation when I reflect that there was not a single movement, nor even a voice heard, in behalf of the aged and injured monarch; although the omrahs who bowed the knee to his oppressors, were indebted to him for their rank and riches,

having been, according to the custom of this court, raised by Shah-Jehan from a state of the lowest indigence, and many of them even redeemed from absolute slavery. A few there were, and among them Danechmend-Khan, who espoused no party; but, with this small exception, every omrah declared in favour of Aureng-Zêbe.

It may, however, diminish our censure of this ungrateful conduct, if we call to mind that the omrahs of Hindostan cannot be proprietors of land, or enjoy an independent revenue, like the nobility of France, and of other christian states. Their income, as I said before, consists exclusively of pensions which the king grants, or takes away, according to his own will and pleasure. When deprived of this pension, they sink at once into utter insignificance, and find it impossible even to borrow the smallest sum.

The combined princes having thus disposed of Shah-Jehan, and received the homage of the omrahs, set out in the pursuit of Dara. The royal treasury supplied their pecuniary wants, and Shaista-Khan, Aureng-Zêbe's uncle, was appointed governor of Agra.

When the day arrived for the departure of the army, Morâd-Bakche's particular friends, and among them the eunuch, Shah-Abas, employed every argument to induce him to remain with his own troops in the neighbourhood of Agra and Delhi. An excess of respect, and too smooth a tongue, denoted, they said, a treacherous heart.

They represented to him that being king, and universally acknowledged as such, even by Aureng-Zêbe himself, it was his wisest policy not to remove from the neighbourhood of Agra, or Delhi, but to let his brother go alone in pursuit of Dara. Had he been swayed by this prudent counsel, Aureng-Zêbe would indeed have felt greatly embarrassed; but it made no impression upon his mind, and he continued to repose unreserved confidence in his brother's solemn promises, and in the oaths which they had mutually and repeatedly sworn on the Koran. The two brothers quitted Agra together, and took the road to Delhi.

When they halted at Muttra, four short journies from Agra, Morâd-Bakche's friends, who had seen and heard enough to excite their suspicion, once more endeavoured to awaken his fears. They assured him that Aureng-Zêbe entertained some evil design, and that some dreadful plot was certainly in progress. Of this, information had reached them from various quarters: he must, therefore, absolutely abstain from visiting his brother, at least for that day. Indeed it was advisable, they added, to anticipate, without delay, the meditated blow; for which purpose the prince need only excuse himself, on the plea of indisposition, from visiting Aureng-Zêbe, who would thus be induced to come to Morâd-Bakche attended, as usual, with very few persons.

But neither argument nor entreaty could

remove the spell by which he appeared bound. The feigned and fulsome adulation of Aureng-Zêbe had indeed enchanted the unhappy prince; and, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of his friends, he accepted an invitation from his brother for supper. The latter expected him, and had concerted his measures with Mirkhan and three or four other of his minions. Morâd-Bakche was greeted with even more external courtesy and respect than had been usual since Aureng-Zêbe had marked him for his victim; tears of joy seemed to flow, and his brother wiped, with a gentle hand, the perspiration and dust from the face of the devoted and credulous prince. During supper, the utmost good humour and conviviality apparently prevailed; the conversation was enlivening and incessant, and at the end of the repast, a large quantity of the delicious wines of Schiraz and Cabul was introduced. Aureng-Zêbe then rose softly, and with a countenance that beamed affection and delight, said, "I need not inform your majesty of the serious turn of my mind, and that, as a musselman, I feel scruples which do not permit me to indulge in the pleasures of the table; but though I deem it my duty to retire, yet I leave you in excellent company. Mirkhan, and my other friends, will entertain your majesty." An extravagant fondness for wine was among Morâd-Bakche's foibles, and upon the present occasion, finding it peculiarly good, he drank to such excess that he became

intoxicated, and fell into a deep sleep. This was precisely the effect which Aureng-Zêbe intended the wine should produce. His servants were ordered to withdraw that their master might not be disturbed; and Mirkhan took away both his sword and jemder (poinard). It was not long before Aureng-Zêbe came to rouse him from this disgraceful sleep. He entered the room, and pushing the inebriated prince rudely with his feet, until he opened his eyes, the arch hypocrite uttered his short and insolent reprimand. "Oh, shame and infamy! Thou a king, and yet possessing so little discretion? What will the world now say of thee, and even of me? Let this wretched and drunken man be bound hand and foot, and dragged into the closet, there to sleep away his shame." The command was no sooner given than executed; five or six soldiers rushed upon Morâd-Bakche, and in spite of his cries and resistance, fetters and hand-cuffs were applied, and he was carried to his place of confinement. This violence could not be perpetrated without the knowledge, indistinct as it might be, of Morâd-Bakche's dependents by whom he was attended; they wished to sound an alarm, and attempted to break into the apartment; but they were silenced and over-awed by Allah-Couly, the chief officer in Morâd-Bakche's artillery, who had long been corrupted by the gold of Aureng-Zêbe. Some agitation soon began, however, to manifest itself among the troops; and to prevent the con-

sequences of any sudden movement, emissaries were busily employed during the night in representing the occurrences in Aureng-Zêbe's tent, as perfectly trifling and unimportant: they were present (they pretended) and Morâd-Bakche having drunk to excess, had lost his self-possession, and made use of very intemperate language. There was no acquaintance upon whom he had not cast injurious reflections, and he had even loaded Aureng-Zêbe himself with the foulest abuse. In short, he had grown so quarrelsome and ungovernable, that it became necessary to confine him apart: but in the morning, when recovered from his night's debauch, he would be again set at liberty. In the mean time, large bribes and larger promises were given to all the superior officers; the pay of the whole army was immediately augmented; and, as there were few who had not long foreseen the downfall of Morâd-Bakche, it is not surprising that when the day dawned scarcely a trace of the late partial commotion existed. Aureng-Zêbe felt that he might venture to shut his brother up in a covered amari, a kind of closed house in which women are carried on elephants; and in this manner the prince was conveyed to Delhi, and incarcerated in the citadel of Slinger, which is situated in the middle of the river.*

The army submitted to this new order of

* See note B at the end of the volume.

things, with the exception of the eunuch Shah-Abas, who occasioned much trouble. Aureng-Zêbe received the troops, lately under the command of Morâd-Bakche, into his service; and resumed the pursuit of Dara, who was advancing with the utmost expedition on Lahore, with the intention of fortifying himself in that city, and rendering it the rendezvous for his friends and adherents. But he was pressed so closely by his eager enemy, that he found it impossible to fortify that position: he therefore continued his retreat on the road to Moultan; but here again the vigour of his brother's movements disappointed any expectation he might have formed of maintaining that post. Nothing, indeed, could exceed the ardour and activity of Aureng-Zêbe. Notwithstanding the great heat of the weather, his army marched day and night; and, with a view of encouraging the troops, he was often two or three leagues in advance, nearly unattended. Nor did he fare better than the private men: his meal consisted of dry bread and fetid water, and his bed was the bare ground.

Dara is blamed by the statesmen of this country, for not having taken the route to the kingdom of Cabul, when he abandoned Lahore. He was strongly advised to adopt that course, and his reasons for refusing such sage counsel must always be enigmatical. The governor of Cabul was Mohâbet-Khan, one of the most ancient and powerful omrahs of Hindostan, who had never

been on friendly terms with Aureng-Zêbe; and there were assembled in that kingdom above ten thousand troops destined to act against the Afghans, the Persians, and the Usbees. Dara was amply supplied with money, and there can be little doubt that the military force of that country and Mohâbet-Khan himself would willingly have espoused his cause. It should also be observed, that in Cabul, Dara would have been on the borders of Persia and Usbee, from which countries he might have derived considerable support. He ought indeed to have recollected how Humaioon was restored to his kingdom by the power of his Persians, notwithstanding the opposition of Zaher-Khan, King of Patan, by whom he had been expelled. But it was generally the fate of the unhappy Dara to undervalue the opinions of the wisest counsellors; and upon this occasion, instead of throwing himself into Cabul, he proceeded towards Sindy, and sought refuge in the fortress of Tatta; that strong and celebrated place situated in the middle of the river Indus.

When Aureng-Zêbe knew the point on which Dara was directing his retreat, he felt it quite unnecessary to continue the pursuit. Having ascertained that Cabul was not within the plan of his brother's operations, his mind was relieved from any serious apprehension; and sending only seven or eight thousand men under the command of Mir-Baba, his foster-brother, to watch the movements of Dara, he retraced his steps towards

Agra with the same expedition he had used in the pursuit of his brother. His mind, indeed, was harassed by fears of what might happen in the capital during his absence: some powerful rajah, such as Joy-Singh or Jesswint-Singh, would, perhaps, he thought, release Shah-Jehan from prison; Solimân-Shekô, and the rajah of Serinagur, might descend as a torrent from their mountains; or, in fine, Sultan-Sujah would now probably, venture to approach Agra.—A slight incident now occurred, which, as it was occasioned by it, may serve to give an idea of Aureng-Zêbe's precipitate mode of acting.

While on his return from Moultan, and when marching with his accustomed rapidity, he was astonished to see the rajah Joy-Singh, at the head of four or five thousand well appointed rajaputs, advancing towards him. Aureng-Zêbe had, as usual, preceded his army; and being aware of the rajah's strong attachment to Shah-Jehan, it may easily be imagined that he considered his situation one of extreme peril. It was natural for him to conclude that Joy-Singh would seize upon so happy an occasion of at once rescuing his venerated sovereign from the iniquitous thraldom under which he groaned, and of inflicting condign punishment upon the unfeeling son from whom he had experienced so much unprovoked outrage and cruelty. It is indeed conjectured that the rajah undertook this expedition with no other design than the capture of Aureng-Zêbe, and

there appears ground for the opinion from the fact of his having been met on the road leading from Lahore to Moultan, when the information just before received by the prince left no donbt upon his mind that the rajah was still at Delhi; with such astonishing speed had he conducted this long march! But the self-possession of Aureng-Zêbe and his decision of character carried him safely through the impending danger. He betrayed no symptom of agitation or alarm, but assuming a countenance expressive of pleasure at the sight of Joy-Singh, rode directly toward him, making signs with his hand to the rajah to hasten his pace, and calling out, "Salamet Bached Rajagi! Salamet Bached Baba-gi! My lord rajah! my lord and father!" When they approached, he said: "Welcome, my lord; I cannot describe how impatiently I have waited to see you. The war is at an end: Dara is ruined and wanders alone. I have sent Mir-Baba after the fugitive; he cannot possibly escape." He then took off his pearl necklace, and, as an act of the utmost courtesy and condescension, placed it round the neck of Joy-Singh. "My army is fatigued, I am anxious you should immediately proceed to Lahore, for I am apprehensive of some movement there. I appoint you governor of the city, and commit all things to your hands. I shall soon join you; but before we part, I cannot avoid returning my thanks for your manner of disposing of Solimân-Shekô. Where have you

left Debere-Khan? I shall know how to punish him. Hasten to Lahore. Salamet-Bachest, farewell!"

Dara, when arrived at Tatta, nominated an eunuch distinguished for his intelligence and resolution, governor of the fortress, and formed an excellent garrison of Patans, Siaps, Portuguese, English, French, and Germans. These Europeans were employed in the artillery, and had been induced by his magnificent promises to enter into the prince's service. In the event of his ascending the throne, it was intended to promote them to the rank of omrahs. Depositing his treasure in Tatta, for he still possessed a large quantity of gold and silver, Dara pursued his march without delay along the banks of the Indus at the head of three thousand men; and traversing with incredible speed the territories of the Rajah-Katche soon reached the province of Guzerat, and presented himself before the gates of Ahmedabâd. The governor of the city was Shah-Nawâz-Khan, Aureng-Zebe's father-in-law, descended from the ancient princes of Mascat, a man of no military reputation, but accomplished, polite, and addicted to pleasure. The city of Ahmedabâd contained a strong garrison, and was in a condition to oppose a vigorous resistance; but whether from failure of courage in the governor, or from his having been taken by surprise, the gates were opened to Dara and he was received by Shah-Nawâz with every mark of honour. It seems indeed that this man

was so assiduous in paying court to Dara, that he succeeded in impressing his mind with an opinion of his devotedness and esteem; and although warned of his treacherous character, the deluded prince had the imprudence to confide in the governor's professions, communicating to him the whole of his plans, and shewing him the letters from the Rajah Jesswint-Singh, and several faithful adherents, who were making preparations to join him with all the forces they could muster.

Aureng-Zêbe was equally surprised and perplexed when he heard that Dara was master of Ahmedabâd. He knew that his pecuniary resources were still considerable, and he could entertain no doubt that not only his brother's friends, but malcontents from all parts of Hindostan, would flock around his standard. He was not insensible of the importance of following Dara in person and dislodging him from so advantageous a position: but at the same time he saw the danger of withdrawing so far from Agra and Shah-Jehan, and of marching his army into provinces which comprehended the territories of Joy-Singh, Jesswint-Singh, and other powerful rajahs. His attention was also distracted by the rapid advance of Sultan Sujah with a powerful army, and by the preparations which he understood were being made by Solimân-Shekô, in conjunction with the rajah of Serinagur, to take an active part in the war. He was placed in a critical and intricate situation; but his best course, he thought, was to leave Dara

for the present with Shah-Nawâz, and to march toward Sultan Sujah, who had already crossed the Ganges at Allahabâd.

Sultan Sujah encamped at a small village called Kidgwô, a situation which on account of a large talab, or reservoir of water, was judiciously chosen. There he determined to await the attack of Aureng-Zêbe, who, on bringing up his army, took up a position on the banks of a small river, distant about a league and a half. Between the two armies was a spacious plain well adapted for them to engage. Aureng-Zêbe felt impatient to finish the contest, and on the day after his arrival, leaving his baggage on the other side of the river, proceeded to the attack. The Emir-Jemla joined him on the morning of the action with the forces he could collect; the flight of the unhappy Dara having released his wife and children from captivity, and his own imprisonment being no longer necessary to the promotion of Aureng-Zêbe's designs. The battle was warmly contested, and the efforts of the assailants were almost incredible; but Sultan Sujah maintained his ground, repulsing every assault with great slaughter, and increasing Aureng-Zêbe's embarrassment by steadily adhering to his plan of not advancing into the plain. To defend the advantageous and well fortified position he had selected, was for the present his sole object, foreseeing that the heat of the weather would very soon compel his enemy to retreat to the river, and that it would

then be the time to fall with effect upon his rear-guard. Aureng-Zêbe was very sensible of the reasons which actuated his brother, and became the more intent on pressing forward: But a new and unexpected source of uneasiness now presented itself.

He was informed that the Rajah Jesswint-Singh, who had, with apparent sincerity, entered into terms of amity, had fallen suddenly upon the rear guard, routed, and put it to flight, and that he was now employed in pillaging the baggage and treasure. The news soon spread; and, as is common in Asiatic armies, the fears of the soldiers multiplied the danger. But Aureng-Zêbe did not lose his presence of mind, and being aware that retreat would be ruinous to his hopes, he determined, as on a former occasion, not to recede, but await with firmness the progress of events. The disorder spread more and more among the troops, and Sultan Sujah availing himself of so unlooked for an opportunity, commenced a furious attack. An arrow killed the man who guided Aureng-Zêbe's elephant; the animal became unmanageable, and the danger growing more appalling, the king was about to dismount, when Emir-Jemla, who was near him, and whose conduct the whole of this day excited the admiration of every beholder, ejaculated with a loud voice, Decankou! Decankou!* and prevented him from accomplishing his fatal purpose. Aureng-Zêbe was now to

* Where is the Deccan?

all appearance reduced to the last extremity: his situation seemed irremediable, and he was every moment expecting to fall into the enemy's hands. Yet such is the caprice of fortune, that he was in a few minutes crowned with victory; and Sultan Sujah was obliged, like Dara at the battle of Samonguer, to fly for his life.

Sultan Sujah owed his discomfiture to the same trifling circumstance as occasioned the defeat of his eldest brother,—that of descending from his elephant for the sake of more expeditiously following the retreating foe: but it may be doubted whether the man by whose advice he acted was influenced by an honest or a perfidious intention. Allah-verdi-Khan, one of his principal officers, earnestly entreated him to mount a horse, and it is remarkable that he made use of language very similar to that of Calil-ullah-Khan at the battle of Samonguer. Joining his hands in the manner of fervent entreaty, he said: "Why, my prince, incur unnecessary risk on this exalted elephant? do you not see that the enemy is in complete disorder, and that it were an unpardonable fault not to pursue him with alacrity? Mount your horse, and you are king of India." As in the case of Dara, the sudden disappearance of the prince from the view of the whole army, induced a general idea that he was either killed or betrayed; the troops fell into disorder, and dispersed, without the possibility of restoring their ranks.

Jesswint-Singh perceiving the strange turn that the

action had taken, contented himself with securing the fruits of his plunder, and without loss of time returned to Agra, intending to continue his retreat thence to his own dominions. The rumour had already reached the capital that Aureng-Zêbe had lost the battle; that he and Emir-Jemla were taken prisoners, and that Sultan Sujah was advancing at the head of his victorious army. Shaista-Khan, the governor, so fully believed the report, that when he saw Jesswint Singh, of whose treasou he had been apprized, approach the gate of the city, he grasped, in his despair, a cup of poison. He was prevented, however, from swallowing it by the promptitude of his women, who threw themselves upon him, and dashed the cup to the ground. Two days elapsed before the inhabitants of Agra were undeceived; and it is not doubted that the rajah would have succeeded in releasing Shah-Jehan from confinement had he acted with vigour and decision;—had he threatened with boldness, and promised with liberality: but as he was acquainted with the actual state of affairs, he would neither venture to prolong his stay in the capital, nor to undertake any daring enterprize: he merely marched through the town, and proceeded homeward, agreeably to his original intention.

Aureng-Zêbe was full of inquietude as to the probable proceedings of Jesswint-Singh, and expected to hear of a revolution at Agra. He therefore scarcely followed Sultan

Sujah in his retreat, but directed his rapid steps to the capital with the whole of his army. He soon learnt, however, that the troops whom he had just encountered, and who suffered little or no diminution of numbers in the late action, were daily receiving considerable accession of strength from the different rajahs whose territories were situated on both sides of the Ganges, and who were induced to give their assistance by an opinion generally entertained of the sultan's riches and liberality. He found also that his brother was establishing himself in Allahabâd, that important and celebrated passage of the river, and justly considered the key of Bengal.

Under these circumstances, it occured to Aureng-Zêbe that he had two persons near him very capable of rendering him assistance—his eldest son, and Emir-Jemla; but he knew that those who have rendered essential service to their prince, often become inflated with the idea that no recompense is too great for them. He already perceived that Sultan Mahmud betrayed impatience of paternal control, and was continually presuming on the skill and prowess he had displayed in the capture of the citadel of Agra, whereby all the plans of Shah-Jehan had been baffled. In regard to Jemla, the prince fully appreciated his transcendent talents, his conduct, and his courage; but these very excellencies filled him with apprehension and distrust: for the emir's great riches, and the reputation he possessed of being the chief adviser

in all affairs of importance and the most acute statesman in India, left no doubt on the mind of Aureng-Zêbe that the expectations of this extraordinary man were as high as those of Sultan Mahmud.

These considerations would have disconcerted an ordinary mind; but Aureng-Zêbe knew how to remove these two personages to a distance from the court, with so much address that neither the one nor the other felt any cause of complaint. He sent them at the head of a powerful army against Sultan Sujah, giving the emir to understand not only that the valuable government of Bengal was intended for him during life, but that he should be succeeded therein by his son. He added that this was but one mark of the sense he entertained of his great services: when he had defeated Sujah he should be created Mir-ul omrah; the first and most honourable title in Hindostan, signifying Prince of the Omrahs.

To Sultan Mahmud the king addressed only these few words: "Remember that you are the eldest of my children, and that you are going to fight your own battles. You have done much; and yet, properly speaking, you cannot be said to have done any thing until the projects of Sultan Sujah be defeated, and you become master of his person: he is the most formidable of our adversaries."

Aureng-Zêbe then presented both the emir and Sultan Mahmud, with the customary serapaho,

or rich vests, a few horses and elephants, superbly caparisoned, and contrived to retain at court the wife of his son (the king of Golconda's daughter) and Jemla's son Mahmet Emir-Khan; the former, because the presence of so distinguished a woman might embarrass the operations of the army; the latter, because he was partial to the youth, and wished to superintend his education: but he viewed them doubtless in the light of hostages for the fidelity of the two commanders.

Sultan Sujah was continually in dread that the rajahs of Lower Bengal, who had reason to complain of his exactions, would be excited to insurrection against his authority. He was, therefore, no sooner apprized of these arrangements than he, broke up his camp at Allahabâd, and marched to Benares and Patna, and afterwards to Mongeer, a small town on the Ganges, commonly called the Key of Bengal, forming a species of strait between the mountains and a forest which is contiguous to the town. He made this movement from an apprehension that it was meant to cut off his retreat, and that the emir would cross the river either above or below Allahabâd. Intending to make a stand at Mongeer, he threw up fortifications, and cut a deep trench (which I saw some years afterwards) extending from the town and the river to the mountains. In this strong position he resolved to wait the approach of his enemy, and dispute the passage of the Ganges. He was, however, greatly mortified when informed that

the troops which were slowly descending the banks of the river, were designed merely for a feint; that Emir-Jemla was not with them; but that having gained over the rajahs whose territories lay among the mountains on the right of the river, he and Sultan Mahmud were marching with the utmost speed across those mountains toward Raja-Mâhil accompanied by the flower of the army, evidently with the object of shutting him out from Bengal. He was constrained, therefore, to abandon all the fortifications erected with so much care: yet notwithstanding that his march was much lengthened by the necessity of following the various sinuations of the Ganges, still he arrived at Raja-Mâhil some days before the emir. Time was afforded him to throw up entrenchments; because, when the combined commanders perceived that Sultan Sujah could not be prevented from occupying Raja-Mâhil, they inclined on the left toward the Ganges, through almost impracticable paths, for the purpose of receiving the troops, heavy artillery and baggage, which were coming down the river. When this object was accomplished, they proceeded to the attack of Sultan Sujah, who defended his position during five or six days with considerable success; but perceiving that the ceaseless fire of the emir's artillery ruined his fortifications, which consisted only of moving earth, sand, and fascines, and that the approaching rains would render his position still less tenable, he withdrew under favour of the

night, leaving behind him two large pieces of ordnance. The fear of some ambuscade deterred the enemy from pursuing him that night, and before break of day the rain descended so violently that no idea could be entertained of quiting Raja-Mâhil. Happily for Sultan Sujah, the shower that fell so opportunely, was the commencement of those incessant and heavy rains with which the country is visited in the months of July, August, September and October. They render the roads so difficult that no army can act offensively during their prevalence; and upon the present occasion the emir was obliged to put his troops into winter-quarters at Raja-Mâhil; while Sujah remained at liberty to choose the place of his retreat, and to reinforce his army. A large number of Portuguese came to him from Lower Bengal, bringing with them several pieces of cannon. The great fertility of the soil attracts many Europeans to this part of India, and it was Sultan Sujah's policy to encourage and conciliate the foreigners settled in this province. He particularly caressed the Portuguese missionaries, holding out a prospect of future wealth to them all, and promising to build churches wheresoever they might desire to have them erected. Indeed these people were capable of rendering the prince essential service; the Portuguese families residing in the kingdom of Bengal, whether half-cast or European, amounting to eight or nine thousand, at the lowest computation.

During this interval, there arose a serious disagreement between Sultan Mahmud and Emir-Jemla. The former aspired to the absolute and undivided command of the army, and behaved to the latter with studied insolence and contempt. He even allowed expressions to escape him that denoted a total disregard of the affection and respect due to his father; spoke openly of his achievement in the fortress of Agra, and boasted that it was to him Aureng-Zêbe should feel indebted for his crown. He was at length informed of the anger he had excited in his father's breast; and, fearing lest the emir should receive orders to seize his person, he withdrew from Raja-Mâhil, attended by very few followers, and, retiring towards Sultan-Sujah, made that prince a tender of his services. But Sujah, suspecting this to be a device of Aureng-Zêbe and of Emir-Jemla to entrap him, placed no confidence in his splendid promises, or in his oaths of undeviating constancy. He therefore intrusted him with no command of importance, and kept an eye upon his conduct. Sultan-Mahmud was soon disgusted with this treatment, and, after the absence of a few months, in despair of what might befall him, abandoned his new master, and ventured to appear in Jemla's presence. The emir received him with some degree of courtesy, promising to intercede with Aureng-Zêbe in his behalf, and persuade him to pardon this great transgression.

Many persons have told me that all this

strange conduct of Sultan-Mahmud, was planned by Aureng-Zêbe, who was very willing to see his son engage in any enterprise, however hazardous, which had for its object the ruin of Sultan Sujah. Whatever the event might be, he hoped to gain some specious pretext for having Sultan Mahmud conveyed to a place of security. Accordingly, when informed of his son's return to Raja-Mâhil, feeling, or feigning to feel, the utmost indignation, he sent a letter, commanding him in peremptory terms to repair to Delhi. The unhappy prince dared not disobey; but he had scarcely set foot on the opposite shore of the Ganges, when a company of armed men seized and forced him into an amari: he was then conducted to Gualior, in which fortress he will probably end his days.*

Having thus disposed of his eldest son, Aureng-Zêbe advised Sultan Mazum not to imitate the lofty and unyielding spirit of his brother. "The art of reigning," he told him, "is so delicate, that a king's jealousy should be awakened by his very shadow. Be wise, or a fate similar to that which has befallen your brother awaits you. Indulge not the fatal delusion that Aureng-Zêbe may be treated by his children as was Jehan-Guire by his son Shah-Jehan; or that, like the latter, he will permit the sceptre to fall from his hand."

Here, however, I may observe that, judging

* See note C at the end of the volume.

from the whole tenour of Sultan Mazum's conduct, his father has no reason to suspect him of any evil design: the most abject slave cannot be more tractable or obsequious; nor is it possible that the language and behaviour of the lowest menial should discover less of the workings of a discontented and ambitious mind. Aureng-Zêbe never appeared more careless of power and dignity, or more devoted to the cause of religion and charity. There are many shrewd persons, however, who believe that the father's character is, in every respect, the archetype of the son's, and that the heart of Sultan Mazum is set upon sovereign authority.*

The war languished on the side of Bengal. Sultan-Sujah resisted, to the best of his ability, his skilful opponent, passed, as he judged it expedient, from one bank of the Ganges to the other, and crossed alternately the rivers and canals with which this part of the country abounds. Meanwhile, Aureng-Zêbe remained stationary in the neighbourhood of Agra. At length, after having moved Morâd-Bakche to Gualior, he went to Delhi, where he began in good earnest and, undisguisedly, to assume all the acts, and exercise all the prerogatives, of a legitimate king. His attention was principally engaged in the formation of plans

* Aureng-Zêbe, at this time about forty-one years old, lived and reigned to the age of ninety, and was succeeded by his son, Sultan Mazum, who survived his father only five years.—*Translator.*

for expelling Dara from Guzerat; an object very near his heart, but for the reasons already stated, difficult of accomplishment. Nevertheless, his extraordinary skill, and continued good fortune overcame every impediment.

Jesswint-Singh was no sooner returned to his own country than he employed the treasure plundered at the battle of Kidgwâ in raising a strong army. He then informed Dara that he would join him, with all his forces, in the road leading to Agra, on which city he advised him to march without delay. The prince had himself contrived to assemble a large number of troops, though not perhaps of the choicest description; and being sanguine in his expectation that as he approached the the capital, accompanied by this distinguished rajah, his friends would be encouraged to crowd around his standard, he quitted Ahmedabâd and hastened to Agimere, a city seven or eight days' journey from Agra. But Jesswint-Singh violated his promise. The Rajah Joy-Singh, considering that the chances of war were decidedly in favour of Aureng-Zêbe, and that it was his best policy to conciliate that prince, exercised his influence with Jesswint-Singh to deter him from espousing the cause of Dara. "What can be your inducement," he wrote to him, "to endeavour to sustain the falling fortunes of this prince? Perseverance in such an undertaking must inevitably bring ruin upon you and your family, without advancing the interests of the wretched Dara. From Aureng-

Zêbe you will never obtain forgiveness. I, who am also a rajah, conjure you to spare the blood of the rajaputs. Do not buoy yourself up with the hope of drawing the other rajahs to your party; for I have means to counteract any such attempt. This is a business which concerns every Hindoo, and you cannot be permitted to kindle a flame that would soon rage throughout the kingdom, and which no effort might be able to extinguish. If, on the other hand, you leave Dara to his own resources, Aureng-Zêbe will bury all the past in oblivion; will not reclaim the money you obtained at Kidgwâ, but will at once nominate you to the government of Guzerat. You can easily appreciate the advantage of ruling a province so contiguous to your own territories: there you will remain in perfect quiet and security, and I hereby offer you my guarantee for the exact fulfilment of all I have mentioned." To be brief, Jesswint-Singh was persuaded to remain at home, while Aureng-Zêbe advanced with the whole of his army on Agimere, and encamped within view of Dara.

Who that reads this history can repress an emotion of pity for the misguided and betrayed Dara? He now discovered the bad faith of Jesswint-Singh; but it was too late to provide against its fatal consequences. Willingly would he have conducted the army back to Ahmedabâd, but how could he hope to effect this desirable object in the heat of summer, and during the drought that prevails at this season; having a

march of five and thirty days to accomplish through the territories of rajahs, friends or allies of Jesswint-Singh, and closely pressed by the eager Aureng-Zêbe at the head of a fresh and numerous army; "It is better," he said, "to die at once the death of a soldier; the contest is sadly unequal, but on this spot I must conquer or perish." He did not, however, comprehend the full extent of his danger: treason was lurking where he least expected it; and he continued to confide in the perfidious Shah-Nawâz-Khan, who kept up a regular correspondence with Aureng-Zêbe, putting him in possession of all Dara's designs. As a just retribution for his faithlessness, this man was slain in the battle, either by the hand of Dara himself, or, as is thought more probable, by the swords of persons in Aureng-Zêbe's army, who, being the secret partisans of Dara, felt apprehensive that Shah-Nawâz-Khan would denounce them, and make mention of the letters they had been in the habit of writing to that prince. But what now availed the death of the traitor? It was from the first moment of his taking possession of Ahmedabâd that Dara ought to have listened to the sage advice of his best friends, and treated Shah-Nawâz with the contempt and distrust he merited.

The action commenced between nine and ten in the morning. Dara's artillery, which was advantageously placed on a small eminence, made noise enough; but the pieces, it is supposed,

were charged only with blank cartridges, so widely was the treachery extended. It is unnecessary to enter into any particular detail of this battle, if battle it should be called; it was soon a complete rout. I shall simply state that the first shot was scarcely fired, when Joy-Singh, placing himself within sight of Dara, sent an officer to inform him that if he wished to avoid capture he must instantly quit the field. The poor prince, seized with sudden fear and surprise, acted upon this advice, and flew with so much precipitation that he gave no directions concerning his baggage: indeed, considering the critical situation in which he was placed, he had reason to congratulate himself on being allowed time to secure his wife and family. It is certain that he was in the power of Joy-Singh, and that it was to his forbearance he was indebted for his escape: but the rajah, aware of the danger that would attend any insult offered to a prince of the blood, has upon all occasions shewn respect to every branch of the royal family.*

The miserable and devoted Dara, whose only chance of preservation was to regain Ahmedabâd, was constrained to pass through a long range of what might be considered hostile territory, destitute of tents and baggage. The country between Agimeer and Ahmedabâd consists almost entirely of territories belonging to rajahs. The prince

* Note D at the end of the volume.

was accompanied by two thousand men at most; the heat was intolerable; and the coolies followed him day and night, pillaging and assassinating so many of his soldiers that it became dangerous to separate even a few yards from the main body. These coolies are the peasantry of this part of the country, and are the greatest robbers, and altogether the most unprincipled people in Hindostan. Notwithstanding every obstruction, Dara contrived to advance within a day's journey from Ahmedabâd, expecting to enter the city on the following day, and to assemble an army; but the hopes of the vanquished and unfortunate are seldom realized.

The governor whom he had left in the castle of Ahmedabâd, alarmed by the menaces, or allured by the promises of Aureng-Zêbe, had basely deserted the cause of his master; and sent a letter to Dara by which he desired him not to advance nearer to the city, whose gates were shut and whose inhabitants were armed to oppose his entrance. I had now been three days with Dara, whom I met on the road by the strangest chance imaginable; and being destitute of any medical attendant, he compelled me to accompany him in the capacity of physician. The day preceding that on which he received the governor's communication, he expressed his fear lest I should be murdered by the coolies, and insisted upon my passing the night in his caravansary. The cords of the kanates, or screens, which concealed his wife and women, (for

he was without even a tent) were fastened to the wheels of the carriage, wherein I reposed. This may appear almost incredible to those who know how extremely jealous the great men of Hindostan are of their wives, and I mention the circumstance as a proof of the low condition to which the fortunes of the prince were reduced. It was at break of day that the governor's message was delivered, and the shrieks of the females drew tears from every eye. We were all overwhelmed with confusion and dismay, gazing in speechless horror at each other, at a loss what plan to recommend, and ignorant of the fate which perhaps awaited us from hour to hour. We observed Dara stepping out, more dead than alive, speaking now to one, then to another; stopping and consulting even the commonest soldier. He saw consternation depicted in every countenance, and felt assured that he should be left without a single follower; but what was to become of him? whither must he go? to delay his departure was to accelerate his ruin.

During the three days that I remained in this prince's retinue, we marched, nearly without intermission, day and night; and so insupportable was the heat, and so suffocating the dust, that of the three large oxen of Guzerat which drew my carriage, one had died, another was in a dying state, and the third was unable to proceed from fatigue. Dara felt anxious to retain me in his service, especially as one of his wives had a bad wound in her

leg; yet neither his threats nor entreaties could procure for me a single horse, ox, or camel; so totally destitute of power and influence had he become! I remained behind, therefore, because of the absolute impossibility of continuing the journey, and could not but weep when I beheld the prince depart with a force diminished to four or five hundred horsemen. There were also a couple of elephants laden, it was said, with gold and silver. Dara, I understood, intended to take the road to Tatta, and under all circumstances this was not perhaps an unwise selection. There was indeed only a choice of appalling difficulties, and I could not cherish the hope that the prince would succeed in crossing the sandy desert which separated him from Tatta. In fact, nearly the whole of the men, and many of the women, did perish; some dying of thirst, hunger, or fatigue, while others were killed by the hands of the merciless coolies. Happy would it have been for Dara had he not himself survived this perilous march! but he struggled through every obstacle, and reached the territory of the Rajah-Kutch.

The rajah received him with the utmost hospitality, promising to place the whole of his army at Dara's disposal, provided that prince gave his daughter in marriage to his son. But the intrigues of Joy-Singh were as successful with this rajah as they had been with Jesswint-Singh; a change in his conduct was very soon perceptible, and Dara having reason to apprehend that the barbarian had

a design against his life, departed without a moment's hesitation for Tatta.

I should, I fear, only tire my readers were I to enter upon a long narration of my own adventures with the infamous coolies; relating how I moved their compassion, and by what means I preserved the little money which was about my person. I made a grand display of my professional skill; and my two servants, who experienced the same terror as myself, declared I was the most eminent physician in the world, and that Dara's soldiers had used me extremely ill, depriving me of every thing valuable. It was fortunate for me that we succeeded in creating in these people an interest in my favour; for after detaining me seven or eight days, they attached a bullock to my carriage, and conducted me within view of the towers of Ahmedabâd. In this city I met with an omrah who was proceeding to Delhi, and I travelled under his protection. On the road our eyes were too often offended with the sight of dead men, elephants, oxen, horses, and camels; the wrecks of poor Dara's army.

While Dara pursued his dreary way towards Tatta, the war was still raging in Bengal; Sultan Sujah making much greater efforts than had been foreseen by his enemies. But the state of affairs in this quarter occasioned little inquietude to Aureng-Zêbe, who knew how to appreciate the talents and conduct of Emir Jemla; and the distance of Bengal from Agra lessened the imme-

diate importance of the military operations in that country. A source of much greater anxiety was the vicinity of Solimân-Shekô, and the apprehension which seemed generally to prevail that he and the Rajah were about to descend with a hostile force from the mountains of Serinagur, distant scarcely eight days' journey from Agra. This enemy Aureng-Zêbe was too prudent to despise, and how to circumvent Solimân-Shekô became now the chief object of his attention.

The most likely method of attaining that object was, he conceived, to negotiate with the Rajah of Serinagur, through the medium of Joy-Singh: who accordingly wrote to him letter upon letter promising the most splendid remuneration if he delivered up Solimân-Shekô, and threatening the severest punishment should he refuse to comply. The rajah answered that the loss of his whole territory would affect him less than the idea that he had been guilty of so base and ungenerous an action. When it became evident that neither solicitation nor menace could move the rajah from the path of honour and rectitude, Aureng-Zêbe marched his army to the foot of the mountains of Serinagur, and there employed an immense number of pioneers in levelling huge rocks and widening narrow ways: but the rajah laughed at these vain and puerile attempts to gain an ingress into his country; the mountains would have been inaccessible though assailed by four such kings as Aureng-Zêbe; so that after all this

display of impotent resentment, the army was withdrawn.

Meanwhile Dara approached Tatta; and when only two or three days' journey from the place, he received intelligence (as I have been since informed by Frenchmen and other Europeans who formed part of the garrison) that Mir-Baba, by whom the fortress had been long besieged, had at length reduced it to the last extremity. Rice and meat sold for upwards of a crown per pound, and other necessaries in the same proportion. Still the governor continued undaunted; making frequent and successful sorties, and in every respect approving himself a prudent, brave, and faithful soldier; opposing, with equal calmness and resolution, the vigorous assaults of Mir-Baba, and deriding both the threats and the promises of Aureng-Zêbe.

That such was the praise-worthy conduct of the governor I have been well assured by many Europeans who were his companions in arms. I have heard them say that when he received news of Dara's approach, he increased his liberal donations; and that the whole garrison would cheerfully have sacrificed themselves in an effort to drive the enemy from the walls, and open a passage for the entrance of Dara; so well did this valiant commander understand how to gain the hearts of his soldiers. He had moreover so judiciously managed, by means of numerous and intelligent spies, whom he contrived, by

various dexterous schemes, to introduce in Mir-Baba's camp, as to impose upon the besiegers a firm belief that Dara was coming up with a formidable body of troops for the purpose of raising the siege. These spies pretended they had themselves seen him and his army; and this stratagem produced all the effect which the governor anticipated; terror seized the enemy's troops, and no doubt was entertained that, if Dara had arrived at the time he was confidently expected, Mir-Baba's army would partly have disbanded, and partly joined the prince's party.

But Dara seemed doomed never to succeed in any enterprise. Considering it impossible to raise the siege with his handful of men, he was at one time resolved to cross the river Indus, and make the best of his way to Persia; although that plan would likewise have been attended with nearly insurmountable obstacles: he would have had to traverse the lands of Patans, inconsiderable rajahs who acknowledge neither the authority of Persia nor of Hindostan; and a vast wilderness interposed in which he could not hope to find wholesome water. But the Sultana persuaded him to abandon the idea of penetrating into that kingdom, alleging a much weaker reason than those I have mentioned. If he persevered in his intention, he must make up his mind, she told him, to see both her and his daughter slaves of the Persian monarch, an ignominy which no member of his family could possibly endure. She and Dara for-

got, or seemed to forget, that the wife of Humaioon, when placed under similar circumstances, was subjected to no such indignity, but treated with great respect and kindness.*

While Dara's mind was in this state of perplexity and indecision, it occurred to him that he was at no considerable distance from Jihon-Khan, a Patan of some power and note, whose life he had been twice the means of preserving, when condemned by Shah-Jehan to be thrown under the elephant's feet, as a punishment for various acts of rebellion. To Jihon-Khan Dara determined to proceed, hoping to obtain, by his means, forces to enable him to drive Mir-Baba from the walls of Tatta. The plan he now proposed to himself was briefly this:—after raising the siege of Tatta with the troops supplied by the Patan, he intended to proceed, with the treasure deposited in that city, to Candahar, whence he might easily reach the kingdom of Cabul. When in Cabul he felt quite sanguine in the expectation that Mohâbet-Khan would zealously and unhesitatingly embrace his cause. It was to Dara this officer was indebted for the government of that country, and being possessed of great power and influence, and very po-

* When Humaioon was driven from his empire by Sheer-Khan, he resided with Shah-Tamasp, of Persia, who aided him in the recovery of it; and in the early part of his exile, he recovered possession of the provinces beyond the Indus.
Translator.

pular in Cabul, the prince was not unreasonable in the hope that he would find in Mohâbet-Khan a sincere and efficacious ally. But Dara's family, agitated by dismal forebodings, employed every entreaty to prevent him from venturing in Jihon-Khan's presence. His Sultana, daughter, and son Sipper-Shekô, fell at his feet, endeavouring, with tears in their eyes, to turn him aside from his design. The Patan, they observed, was notoriously a robber and a rebel, and to place confidence in such a character was at once to rush headlong into destruction. There was no sufficient reason, they added, why he should be so pertinaciously bent upon raising the siege of Tatta; the road to Cabul might be safely pursued without that operation, for Mir-Baba would scarcely abandon the siege for the sake of interrupting his march.

Dara, as if hurried away by his evil genius, could not perceive the force of these arguments; remarking, what indeed was the truth, that the journey to Cabul would be full of difficulty and danger; and that he did not believe it possible he should be betrayed by a man bound to him by such strong ties of gratitude. He departed, notwithstanding every solicitation; and soon afforded an additional and melancholy proof that the wicked feel not the weight of obligations when their interests demand the sacrifice of the benefactors.

Jihon-Khan, who imagined that Dara was attended by a large body of soldiers, received the

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prince with apparent respect and cordiality, quartering his men upon the inhabitants, with particular injunctions to supply all their wants, and treat them as friends and brethren. But when the Patan ascertained that Dara's followers did not exceed two or three hundred men, he threw off all disguise. It is still doubtful whether Jihon-Khan had been tampered with by Aureng-Zêbe, or whether he were suddenly tempted to the commission of this monstrous crime. The sight of a few mules laden with the gold, which Dara had saved from the hands of the robbers, by whom he had been constantly harassed, very probably excited his cupidity. Be this as it may, the Patan having assembled, during the night, a considerable number of armed men, seized this gold, together with the women's jewels, and fell upon Dara and Sipper-Shekô, killed the persons who attempted to defend them, and tied the prince on the back of an elephant. The public executioner was ordered to sit behind, for the purpose of cutting off his head, upon the first appearance of resistance, either on his own part or on that of any of his adherents; and in this degrading posture Dara was carried to the army before Tatta, and delivered into the hands of Mir-Baba. This officer then commanded Jihon-Khan to proceed with his prisoner, first to Lahore, and afterwards to Delhi.

When the unhappy prince was brought to the gates of Delhi, it became a question with Aureng-Zêbe whether, in conducting him to the fortress of

Gualior, he should be made to pass through the capital. It was the opinion of some courtiers that this was by all means to be avoided, because not only would such an exhibition be derogatory to the royal family, but it might become the signal for revolt, and the rescue of Dara might be successfully attempted. Others maintained, on the contrary, that he ought to be seen by the whole city; that it was necessary to strike the people with terror and astonishment, and to impress their minds with an idea of the absolute and irresistible power of Aureng-Zêbe. It was also advisable, they added, to undeceive the omrahs and the people, who still entertained doubts of Dara's captivity, and to extinguish at once the hopes of his secret partisans. Aureng-Zêbe viewed the matter in the same light; the wretched prisoner was therefore secured on an elephant; his son, Sipper-Shekô, placed at his side, and behind them, instead of the executioner, was seated Bhadur-Khan. This was not one of the majestic elephants of Pegu or Ceylon, which Dara had been in the habit of mounting, pompously caparisoned, the harness gilt, and trappings decorated with figured work; and carrying a beautifully painted chair, inlaid with gold, and a magnificent canopy to shelter the prince from the sun: Dara was now seen seated on a miserable and worn-out animal, covered with filth; he no longer wore the necklace of large pearls which distinguish the princes of Hindostan, nor the rich turban and

cabaïes, or embroidered vest; he and his son were now habited in dirty cloth of the coarsest texture, and his sorry turban was wrapt round with a scarf of Kashmire-wool, resembling that worn by the meanest of the people.

Such was the appearance of Dara when led through the bazaars and every quarter of the city. I could not divest myself of the idea that some dreadful execution was about to take place, and felt surprise that government should have the hardihood to commit all these indignities upon a prince confessedly popular among the lower orders, especially as I saw scarcely any armed force. The people had for some time inveighed bitterly against the unnatural conduct of Aureng-Zêbe: the imprisonment of his father, of his son Sultan Mahmud, and of his brother Morâd-Bakche, filled every bosom with horror and disgust. The crowd assembled upon this disgraceful occasion was immense; and every where I observed the people weeping, and lamenting the fate of Dara in the most touching language. I took my station in one of the most conspicuous parts of the city, in the midst of the largest bazaar; was mounted on a good horse, and accompanied by two servants and two intimate friends. From every quarter I heard piercing and distressing shrieks; men, women, and children, wailing as if some mighty calamity had happened to themselves. Jihon-Khan rode near the wretched Dara; and the abusive and indignant

cries vociferated as the traitor moved along, were absolutely deafening. I observed some fakirs and several poor people throw stones at the infamous Patan; but not a single movement was made with a view of delivering the beloved and compassionated prince. When this disgraceful procession had passed through every part of Delhi, the poor prisoner was shut up in one of his own gardens, called Heider-Abad.

Aureng-Zêbe was immediately made acquainted with the impression which this spectacle produced upon the public mind, the indignation manifested by the populace against Jihon-Khan, the threats held out to stone the perfidious man, and with the fears entertained of a general insurrection. A second council was consequently convened, and the question discussed, whether it were more expedient to conduct Dara to Gualior, agreeably to the original intention, or to put him to death without further delay. By some it was maintained that there was no reason for proceeding to extremities, and that the prince might safely be taken to Gualior, provided he were attended with a strong escort: Danechmend-Khan, although he and Dara had long been on bad terms, enforced this opinion with all his powers of argument: but it was ultimately decided that Dara should die, and that Sipper-Shekô should be confined in Gualior. At this meeting Rochinara-Begum betrayed all her enmity against her hapless brother, combatting the arguments of

Danechmend, and exciting Aureng-Zêbe to this foul and unnatural murder. Her efforts were but too successfully seconded by Calil-ullah-Khan and Shaistâ-Khan, both of them old enemies of Dara; and by Takarrub-Khan, a wretched parasite recently raised to the rank of omrah, and formerly a physician. He was originally distinguished by the appellation of Hakim-Daoud, and had been compelled to fly from Persia. This man rendered himself conspicuous in the council by his violent harangue. "Dara ought not to live," he exclaimed; "the safety of the state depends upon his immediate execution; and I feel the less reluctant to recommend his being put to death, because he has abjured his religion, and avowed himself a kafer. If it be sinful to shed the blood of such a person, may the sin be visited upon my own head!" an imprecation which was not allowed to pass unregarded; for divine justice overtook this man in his career of wickedness: he was soon disgraced, declared infamous, and sentenced to a miserable death.

The charge of this atrocious murder was entrusted to a slave of the name of Nazir, who had been educated by Shah-Jehan, but experienced some ill-treatment from Dara. The prince, apprehensive that poison would be administered to him was employed with Sipper-Shekô in boiling lentils, when Nazir and four other ruffians entered his apartment. "My dear son," he cried out, "these men are come to murder us!" He then

seized a small kitchen knife, the only weapon in his possession. One of the murderers having secured Sipper-Sheko, the rest fell upon Dara, threw him down, and while three of the assassins held him, Nazir decapitated his wretched victim. The head was instantly carried to Aureng-Zêbe, who commanded that it should be placed in a dish and that water should be brought. The blood was then washed from the face, and when it could no longer be doubted that it was indeed the head of Dara, he shed tears, and said "Ah Bed-bakt! unhappy man! let this shocking sight no more offend my eyes, but take away the head, and bury it in Humaioon's sepulchre."

Dara's daughter was taken that same evening to the seraglio, but afterwards sent to Shah-Jehan and Begum-Saheb; who begged of Aureng-Zêbe to commit the young princess to their care. Dara's wife, foreseeing the calamities which awaited her and her husband, had already put a period to her existence, by swallowing poison at Lahore. Sipper-Shekô was immured in the fortress of Gualior; and soon after these tragical events Jihon-Khan was summoned before the council, and then dismissed from Delhi with a few presents. He did not escape the fate, however, which he merited, being way-laid and assasinated in a forest, within a few leagues of his own territory. This barbarian had not sufficiently reflected, that though tyrants appear to countenance the blackest crimes while they

conduce to their interest, or promote a favourite object, they yet hold the perpetrators in abhorrence, and will not scruple to punish them when they can no longer be rendered subservient to any iniquitous project.

In the mean time, the brave governor of Tatta, was compelled to surrender the place, an order for its immediate surrender, exacted from Dara himself, having been sent to the faithful eunuch; who insisted, however, on honourable terms of capitulation. The perfidious enemy, intending to violate every promise, readily assented to the conditions proposed, and Mir-Baba was admitted into the town.

The governor proceeded to Lahore, where he and the feeble remains of his intrepid garrison, were miserably slaughtered by Calil-ullah-Khan, who commanded in that city. The reason for this atrocious act was, that although the eunuch professed his intention of visiting the king at Delhi, to gratify the desire expressed by Aureng-Zêbe to converse with so brave a soldier, yet he really meditated a rapid march to Serinagur, with all his followers, for the purpose of making common cause with Solimân-Shekô. Among these followers, (many of whom were Europeans) he distributed money with a liberal hand.

Of Dara's family, there now remained only Solimân-Shekô, whom it would not have been easy to draw from Serinagur, if the rajah had

been faithful to his engagements. But the intrigues of Joy-Singh, the promises and threats of Aureng-Zêbe, the death of Dara, and the hostile preparations of the neighbouring rajahs, shook the resolution of this pusillanimous protector. Solimân-Shekô, felt that he was no longer in safety, and endeavoured to reach the Great Thibet. His rout lay across she most dreary country, consisting of nothing but sterile and mountainous tracts. He was pursued by the rajah's son, overtaken and wounded; and being conveyed to Delhi was shut up in Slinger, the fortress in which Morâd-Bakche was imprisoned.

Aureng-Zêbe acted upon this occasion as he had done in the case of Dara. That Solimân-Shekô's identity might be established, the king commanded that he should be brought into the presence of all the courtiers. I could not repress my curiosity, and witness the whole of this dismal scene. The fetters were taken from the prince's feet before he entered the chamber wherein the omrahs were assembled, but the chains which were gilt, remained about his hands. Many of the courtiers shed tears at the sight of this interesting young man, who was tall and extremely handsome. The principal ladies of the court had permission to be present, concealed behind a lattice work, and were also greatly moved. Aureng-Zêbe too, affected to deplore the fate of his nephew, and spoke to him with

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apparent kindness. "Be comforted," the king told him; "no harm shall befall you. You shall be treated with tenderness. God is great, and you should put your trust in him. Dara, your father, was not permitted to live only because he was become a kafer, a man devoid of all religion." Whereupon the prince made the salaam, or sign of grateful acknowledgement, lowering his hands to the ground, and lifting them, as well as he was able, to his head, according to the custom of the country. He then told the king, with much self-possession, that if it were intended to give him the *poust* for drink, he begged he might be immediately put to death. Aureng-Zêbe promised in a solemn manner, and in a loud voice, that this drink should most certainly not be administered, and that his mind might be perfectly easy. The prince was then required to make a second salaam; and when a few questions had been put to him, by the king's desire, concerning the elephant laden with golden rupees, which had been taken from him during his retreat to Serinagur, he was taken out of the chamber, and conducted on the following day to Gualior.

The poust is nothing but poppy expressed and infused into water. This is the potion generally given to princes confined in the fortress of Gualior, whose heads the monarch is deterred by prudential reasons from taking off. A large cup of this beverage is brought to them early in the morning, and they are not permitted to eat until

it be swallowed. This drink emaciates the wretched victims; who lose their strength and intellect by slow degrees, become torpid and senseless, and at length die. It was probably by means of the poust, that Sipper-Shekô, Morâd-Bakche's grandchild, and Solimân-Shekô, were sent out of the world.

Morâd-Bakche was put to death in a more violent and open manner. Though in prison, he was yet very popular, and verses were continually composed in praise of his courage and conduct. It was essential, according to Aureng-Zêbe's policy, that no secret expectation should be entertained of his being alive; which might be the case, if he were destroyed in private by the poust. It was determined, therefore, that he should undergo a public condemnation, and it was not difficult to find or invent some charge which might be visited as a capital offence against the devoted prince.

At the period when Morâd-Bakche was making extensive peparations for war, in his government of Guzerat, he put to death a certain siad at Ahmed-Abâd, that he might obtain possession of his great wealth. The children of the murdered siad now presented themselves before a full assembly, calling loudly for justice, and demanding the head of Morâd-Bakche. No omrah would venture to reprove or silence this procedure; both because the person whose innocent blood had been shed was a siad, or descendant of the prophet, to

whom unbounded veneration is due, and because it could not but be evident to every person that this was a mode designed by the king to rid himself of a dangerous rival under the cloak of justice. The demand of the sons was granted, and without any other form of process, an order was given for the head of the murderer; with which they immediately repaired to Gualior.

There now existed only one member of his family who created anxiety or apprehension in the mind of Aureng-Zêbe, and this was Sultan Sujah. Hitherto he had displayed much resolution and vigour, but now felt the necessity of yielding to the power and fortune of his brother. Reinforcements continued to be sent to Emir-Jemla, until the prince, encompassed on all sides, was compelled to fly for his personal safety to Dacca, the last town in Bengal on the sea side. We are now come to the conclusion of this long and eventful tragedy.

The prince being destitute of ships to put to sea, and not knowing whither to fly for refuge, sent his eldest son, Sultan Banque, to the king of Arracan, or Mug, a heathen, to ascertain if he would grant him a temporary asylum, and a passage to Mokha, when the favourable season arrived; it being his wish to proceed thence to Mecca, and afterward take up his residence in Turkey or Persia. The king's answer was in the affirmative, and expressed in the kindest terms. Sultan Banque returned to Dacca with a large

number of galliasses (a species of galley) manned with Europeans, fugitive Portuguese, and other wandering Christians, who had entered into the king's service, and whose chief occupation was to ravage this part of Lower Bengal. On board these galliasses, Sultan Sujah embarked with his family, consisting of his wife, his three sons and daughters.* The king of Arracan gave them a tolerable reception, and supplied them with every necessary of life. Month after month passed; the favourable monsoon blew; but no mention was made of vessels to convey them to Mokha, although Sultan Sujah required them on no other terms than the payment of the hire; for he yet wanted not rupees of gold and silver, or gems. He had indeed too great a plenty of them; his great

* Colonel Dow, speaking of Sultan Sujah's flight from Dacca, says, that he directed his march from that town toward the frontiers of Assâm, with fifteen hundred horse; that Jemla was close at his heels; but Sujah, having crossed the Baramputre, which, running through the kingdom of Assâm, falls into Bengal, entered the mountains of Rangamâti. Through almost impervious woods, over abrupt rocks, across deep vallies and headlong torrents, he continued his flight toward Arracan. Having made a circuit of nearly five hundred miles through the wild mountains of Tippera, he entered Arracan with a diminished retinue.

But, as is well observed by Mr. George Forster, Colonel Dow could not have attained the possession of more authentic documents than Bernier, who was himself brought forward into the action of the day, and whose writings, for the space of one hundred and forty years, have borne the test of truth.

wealth being probably the cause of, or at least very much contributing to, his ruin. Barbarian kings are devoid of true generosity, and little restrained by any promises which they have made. Seldom guided by considerations of good faith, their present interest is the sole guide of their conduct, and they appear insensible of the mischief which may accrue to themselves from their perfidiousness and cruelty. To escape out of their hands, either you must have nothing to tempt their avarice, or you must be possessed of superior strength. It was in vain that Sultan Sujah evinced the utmost solicitude to depart for Mokha; the king turned a deaf ear to his entreaties; became cool and uncivil, and reproached the prince for not visiting him. I know not whether Sultan Sujah considered it beneath his dignity to associate with this idolater, or whether he apprehended that his person would be seized, and his treasure plundered, if he ventured into the palace. Emir-Jemla had offered the king, in the name of Aureng-Zêbe, large sums of money, and other considerable advantages, on condition of his delivering up the prince. Though Sultan Sujah would not himself venture into the royal residence, yet he sent his son, Sultan Banque, who, as he approached the palace, threw a considerable quantity of rupees of gold and silver among the people; and, when he came before the king, presented him with various rich brocades and rare pieces of goldsmith's work, set with precious stones of great value; and apolo-

gizing for the unavoidable absence of his father, who was indisposed, entreated the king to provide the vessel so long and so solemnly promised.

This visit proved as unavailing as every preceding effort to induce the barbarian to fulfil his engagements; and to add to the mortification and perplexity of the illustrious fugitive, the king, five or six days after this interview, made a formal demand of one of his daughters in marriage. Sultan Sujah's refusal to accede to this request exasperated him to such a degree that the prince's situation became quite desperate. What then ought he to do? To remain inactive was only quietly to await destruction. The season for departure was passing away; it was therefore necessary to come to a decision of some kind. He meditated, at length, an enterprise which never was exceeded in extravagance, and which proves the hopelessness of the situation to which he was reduced.

Although the king of Arracan be a pagan, yet there are many Muhammedans mixed with the people, who have either chosen to retire among them, or have been enslaved by the Portuguese before mentioned, in their expeditions to the neighbouring coasts. Sultan Sujah secretly gained over these men, whom he joined with two or three hundred of his own people, the remnant of those who followed him from Bengal; and with this force resolved to surprise the house of the king, put his family to the sword, and make himself sove-

reign of the country. This bold attempt, which resembled more the enterprise of a desperado than that of a prudent man, had nevertheless a certain feasibility in it, as I was informed by several Muselmans, Portuguese, and Hollanders, who were then on the spot. But the day before the blow was to be struck, a discovery was made of the design, which altogether ruined the affairs of Sultan Sujah and involved in it the destruction of his family.

The prince endeavoured to escape into Pegu; a purpose scarcely possible to be effected, by reason of the vast mountains and forests that lay in the route; for there is not now, as formerly, a regular road in that direction. He was pursued and overtaken, within twenty-four hours after his flight: he defended himself with an obstinacy of courage such as might have been expected, and the number of barbarians that fell under his sword was incredible; but at length, overpowered by the increasing host of his assailants, he was compelled to give up the unequal combat. Sultan Banque, who had not advanced so far as his father, fought also like a hero, until covered with the blood of the wounds he received from the stones that had been showered upon him from all sides, he was seized on, and carried away, with his mother, two young brothers, and his sisters.

No other particulars, on which much dependence may be placed, are known of Sultan Sujah.

It is said that he reached the summit of the mountain, accompanied by an eunuch, a woman, and two other persons; that he received a wound on the head from a stone, which brought him to the ground; that the eunuch having bound up the prince's head with his own turban he arose again, and escaped into the woods.

I have heard three or four totally different accounts of the fate of the prince, from those even who were on the spot. Some assured me that he was found among the slain, though it was difficult to recognise his body; and I have seen a letter from a person at the head of the Dutch factory, mentioning the same thing. Great uncertainty prevails, however, upon the subject, which is the reason why we have had so many alarming rumours at Delhi. It was reported, at one time, that he was arrived at Masulipatam, and that the kings of Golconda and Visiapour engaged to support his cause with all their forces. It was confidently said, at another period, that he had passed within sight of Surat, with two ships bearing red colours, with which he had been presented either by the king of Pegû or of Siam. Again, we were told that the prince was in Persia; that he had been seen in Shiras, and soon afterwards in Candahar, ready to invade the kingdom of Cabul. Aureng-Zèbe once observed, perhaps by way of joke, that Sultan Sujah was become at last an hadji, or pilgrim; insinuating that he had

visited Mecca; * and even at this day, there are a great many persons fully persuaded that he is returned to Persia from Constantinople, having obtained large supplies of money in that city. But in my opinion there never existed ground for any of these reports. I attach great importance to the letter from the Dutch gentleman, which states that the prince was killed in his attempt to escape; and an eunuch of Sultan Sujah, with whom I travelled from Bengal to Masulipatam, and his former commandant of artillery, now in the service of the king of Golconda, both assured me that their master was dead, although they were reluctant to communicate any farther information. The French merchants whom I saw at Delhi, and who came direct from Ispahan, had never heard a syllable of Sultan Sujah's being in Persia. It seems also that his sword and dagger were found soon after his defeat: and if he reached the woods, as some people pretend, it can scarcely be hoped that he escaped; as it is probable he must have fallen into the hands of robbers, or have become a prey to the tigers and elephants which very greatly infest the forests of that country.

But whatever doubts may be entertained of the fate Sultan Sujah, there are none as to the catastrophe which befel his family. When brought back, men, women, and children, were all thrown into prison, and treated with the utmost harshness.

* Persons who have made the pilgrimage of Mecca are termed hadji.—*Translator.*

Sometime after, however, they were set at liberty, and used more kindly: the king of Arracan then married the eldest princess, and the queen-mother evinced a strong desire to be united to Sultan Banque.

While these events were passing, some servants of Sultan Banque joined the muhammedans, of whom I have spoken, in a plot similar to the last. The indiscreet zeal of one of the conspirators, who was probably heated with wine, led to the discovery of the design on the day on which it was to be executed. In regard to this affair, too, I have heard a thousand different tales; and the only fact I can relate with confidence is, that the king felt so exasperated against the family of Sujah, as to give orders for its total extermination. Even the princess whom he had himself espoused, and who, it is said, was advanced in pregnancy, was sacrificed according to his brutal mandate. Sultan Banque and his brothers were decapitated with blunt axes, and the female members of this ill-fated family were closely confined in their apartments, and left to die of hunger.*

In this manner terminated the war, which the lust of domination had kindled among four brothers. It continued between five and six years; that is to say, from about the year 1655 to the year 1660 or 1661; and it left Aureng-Zêbe the undisputed master of this mighty empire.

* See note E at the end of the volume.

REMARKABLE EVENTS SUBSEQUENT TO THE CIVIL WAR.

The war being ended, the Tartars of Usbec eagerly despatched ambassadors to Aureng-Zêbe. These people had been witnesses of his conduct and valour in many battles, when in command of the corps which Shah-Jehan sent to the assistance of the Khan of Samarcand, then engaged in hostilities with the Khan of Balk; and they had reason to apprehend that Aureng-Zêbe did not forget the treachery of which they had been guilty when he was on the point of capturing Balk, the capital city of the enemy. Upon that occasion, the two khans made up their differences, and united in one common effort to drive him back, lest he should seize upon both their territories, in the same manner as Acbar had obtained possession of the kingdom of Kashmire. The Usbec Tartars were not ignorant of the occurrences which had taken place in Hindostan, of the victories gained by Aureng-Zêbe, and of the total discomfiture and death of the other competitors for the crown. They were aware that although Shah-Jehan still lived, yet his son was, in reality, the recognised and established king of India. Whether, then, they dreaded his just resentment, or hoped, in their inbred avarice and sordidness, to obtain some considerable present, the two khans sent ambassadors, with a proffer of their services, and with injunctions to perform the ceremony of the mobarek: that is, to express in a solemn manner their

wishes that his reign might be long and auspicious. Aureng-Zêbe knew how to estimate an offer of service made at the conclusion of a war: he knew the fear of punishment, or the expectation of advantage had induced the khans to send their ambassadors. They were received, however, with due form and politeness, and as I happened to be present at the audience, I can relate the particulars with accuracy.

The ambassadors, when at a distance, made the *salaam*, or Indian act of obeisance; placing the hand thrice upon the head, and as often dropping it down to the ground. They then approached so near that Aureng-Zêbe might easily have taken the letters from their own hands; but this ceremony was performed by an omrah: the letters were received and opened by him, and then presented to the king, who, after having perused the contents with a grave countenance, commanded that there should be given to each of the ambassadors a *serapah*, or vesture from head to foot; namely, a vest of brocade, a turban, and a sash of silk in embroidery. This done, the presents from the khans were brought before the king, consisting of some boxes of the choicest lapis-lazuli; a few long-haired camels; several horses of great beauty, although the Tartar horses are generally more admired for goodness; some camel-loads of fresh fruit, such as apples, pears, grapes, and melons; Usbec being the country which principally

supplies Delhi with these fruits, which are there eaten all the winter, and many loads of dry fruit, as Bokaria plums, apricots, kichmiches, or grape apparently without stones, and two other kinds of grape, black and white, extremely large and delicious.

Aureng-Zêbe expressed himself well pleased with the liberality of the khans; extolling in exaggerated strains the beauty and rareness of the fruits, horses, and camels; and when he had spoken a few words on the fertility of their country, and asked two or three questions concerning the academy at Samarcand, he desired the ambassadors to go and repose themselves, intimating that he should be happy to see them often.

They came away from the audience delighted with their reception, without any feeling of mortification on account of the Indian salam, which certainly savours of servility, and not at all displeased that the king had refused to receive the letters from their own hands. If they had been required to kiss the ground, or to perform any act of still deeper humiliation, I verily believe they would have complied without a murmur. It should indeed be observed that it would have been unreasonable to insist upon saluting Aureng-Zêbe according to the custom of their own country, or to expect that the letters would be delivered without the intervention of an omrah: these privileges belong exclusively to Persian

ambassadors; nor are they granted, even to them, without much hesitation and difficulty.

These people remained more than four months at Delhi, notwithstanding all their endeavours to obtain their dismission. This long detention proved extremely injurious to their health; they and their suit sickened, and many of them died. It is doubtful whether they suffered more from the heat of the weather, to which they are unaccustomed, or from the filthiness of their persons, and the insufficiency of their diet. There are probably no people more narrow-minded, sordid or uncleanly, than the Usbec Tartars. The individuals who composed this embassy hoarded the money allowed them by Aureng-Zêbe for their expences, and lived on a miserable pittance. in a style quite unsuitable to their station. Yet they were dismissed with great form and parade. The king, in the presence of all his omrahs, invested each of them with two rich serapahs, and commanded that eight thousand rupees should be carried to their respective houses. He also sent by them, as presents to the two khans, their masters, very handsome serapahs, a large number of the richest and most exquisitely wrought brocades, a quantity of fine linens, alachas, or silk stuffs interwoven with gold and silver, a few carpets, and two poinards set with precious stones.

During their stay I paid them three visits,

having been introduced as a physician by one of my friends, the son of an Usbec, who has amassed a fortune at this court. It was my design to collect such useful particulars concerning their country as they might be able to supply, but I found them ignorant beyond all conception. They were unacquainted even with the boundaries of Usbec, and could give no information respecting the Tartars who a few years ago subjugated China. In short I could elicit by my conversation with the ambassadors scarcely one new fact. Once I was desirous of dining with them, and as they were persons of very little ceremony, I did not find it difficult to be admitted at their table. The meal appeared to me very strange; it consisted only of horse-flesh. I contrived, however, to dine. There was a ragout which I thought eatable, and I should have considered myself guilty of a breach of good manners if I had not praised a dish so pleasing to their palate. Not a word was uttered during dinner; my elegant hosts were fully employed in cramming their mouths with as much horse-flesh as they could contain; for with the use of spoons these people are unacquainted. But when their stomachs were sated with the dainty repast, they recovered their speech, and would fain have persuaded me that the Usbecs surpass all other men in bodily strength, and that no nation equals them in the dexterous management of the bow. This observation was no sooner made than they called for bows and arrows, which were of a much larger size than those of Hin-

dostan, and offered to lay a wager that they would pierce an ox or a horse, through and through. They proceeded to extol the strength and valour of their country-women, in comparison with whom the Amazons were soft and timorous. The tales they related of female feats were endless: one especially excited my wonder and admiration, and I only regret that I cannot recite it with genuine Tartar eloquence. It seems that when Aureng-Zêbe was prosecuting the war in their country, a party of five and twenty or thirty horsemen entered a small village; and while employed in pillaging the houses, and binding the inhabitants whom they intended to carry away as slaves, an old woman said to them: "Children, listen to my counsel, and cease to act in this mischievous manner. My daughter happens just now to be absent, but she will soon return. Withdraw from this place, if you are prudent; should she light upon you, you are undone." They made contemptuous sport of the good lady, continuing to plunder the property, and to secure the persons of individuals, until having fully laden their beasts, they quitted the village, taking with them many of the inhabitants and the old woman herself. They had not gone half a league, however, before the aged mother, who never ceased to look behind, cried out in an extasy of joy, My daughter! my daughter! Her person was indeed hid from view; but the extraordinary clouds of dust, and the loud trampling of the horse, left no doubt on the mind of the anxious parent, that her heroic child was at hand to rescue

her and her friends from the power of their cruel enemies. Presently the maid was seen mounted on a fiery steed, a bow and quiver hanging at her side; and, while yet at a considerable distance, she cried out that she was still willing to spare their lives, on condition that they restored the plunder, released their captives, and retired peaceably to their own country. The Indians turned as deaf an ear to the words of the young heroine as to the entreaties of her aged parent; but were astonished when they saw her, in a moment let fly three or four arrows, which brought to the ground the same number of men. They had instant recourse to their own bows, but the damsel was much beyond the reach of their arrows, and laughed at such impotent efforts to avenge the death of their companions. She continued to perform dreadful execution among them, with an accuracy of aim, and strength of arm, that seemed quite marvellous to the affrighted Indians; until having killed half of their number with arrows, she fell sword in hand upon the remainder, and cut them in pieces.

The ambassadors from Tartary were still in Delhi, when Aureng-Zêbe was seized with a dangerous illness.* He was frequently delirious from the violence of the fever, and his tongue be-

* On the 25th of May, 1664, Aureng-Zêbe fell into a fever. His distemper was so violent that he was almost deprived of his reason. His tongue was seized with a palsy, and he lost his speech.—*Dow.*

came so palsied that he could scarcely articulate. The physicians despaired of his recovery, and it was generally believed he was dead, though the event was concealed by Rochinara-Begum from interested motives. It was even rumoured that the Rajah Jesswint-Singh, governor of Guzerat, was advancing to release Shah-Jehan from captivity; that Mohâbet-Khan, who had at length acknowledged Aureng-Zêbe's authority, had quitted the government of Cabul, passed already through Lahore, and was rapidly marching on Agra, at the head of three or four thousand horse, with the same design as Jesswint-Singh; and that the eunuch Etabâr-Khan, under whose custody the aged monarch was placed, felt impatient for the honour of opening the door of his prison.

On the one hand, Sultan Mausum intrigued with the omrahs, and endeavoured by bribes and promises to attach them to his interest. He even went one night in disguise to the Rajah Joy-Singh, and entreated him, in the most respectful and humble language, to declare in his favour. On the other hand, a party formed by Rochinara-Begum was supported by several omrahs and Feday-Khan, grand master of the artillery, in behalf of the young prince Sultan Acbar, Aureng-Zêbe's third son, a boy only seven or eight years of age.

It was pretended by both these parties, and believed by the people, that the sole object they had in view was to set Shah-Jehan at liberty; but

this was merely for the sake of gaining popularity, and to save appearances, in case he should be liberated by Etabâr, or by means of any secret intrigues on the part of other grandees. There was in fact scarcely a person of rank or influence who entertained the wish of seeing Shah-Jehan restored to the throne. With the exception, perhaps, of Jesswint-Singh, Mohâbet-Khan, and a few others who had hitherto refrained from acting flagrantly against him, there was no omrah who had not basely abandoned the cause of the legitimate monarch, and taken an active part in favour of Aureng-Zêbe. They were aware that to open his prison door would be to unchain an enraged lion. The possibility of such an event appalled the courtiers, and no one dreaded it more than Etabâr, who had behaved to his wretched victim with unnecessary rudeness and severity.

But Aureng-Zêbe, notwithstanding his serious indisposition, continued to occupy his mind with the affairs of government, and the safe custody of his father. He earnestly advised Sultan Mausum, in the event of his death, to release the king from confinement; but he was constantly dictating letters to Etabâr, urging him to the faithful and rigid discharge of his duty; and on the fifth day of his illness, during the crisis of the disorder, he caused himself to be carried into the assembly of the omrahs for the purpose of undeceiving those who might believe he was dead, and of preventing

a public tumult, or any accident by which Shah-Jehan might effect his escape. The same reasons induced him to visit that assembly on the seventh, ninth, and tenth days; and, what appears almost incredible, on the thirteenth day, when scarcely recovered from a swoon so deep and long that his death was generally reported, he sent for the Rajah Joy-Singh, and two or three of the principal omrahs, for the purpose of verifying his existence. He then desired the attendants to raise him in the bed; called for paper and ink that he might write to Etabâr, and despatched a messenger for the great seal, which was placed under Rochinara-Begum's care, enclosed in a small bag, and impressed with a seal which he always kept fastened to his arm. Of course, he wished to satisfy himself that the princess had not made use of this instrument to promote any sinister design. I was present when my aga became acquainted with all these particulars, and heard him exclaim, "What strength of mind! What invincible courage! Heaven reserve thee, Aureng-Zêbe, for greater achievements! Thou art not yet destined to die." And indeed after this fit, the king improved gradually in health.

As soon as Aureng-Zêbe became convalescent, he endeavoured to withdraw Dara's daughter from the hands of Shah-Jehan and Begum-Saheb, with the design of giving her in marriage to his third son, Sultan Acbar. This is the son whom, it is supposed, he intends for his successor, and

such an alliance would strengthen Acbar's authority and corroborate his right to the throne. He is very young, but has several near and powerful relations at court, and being born of Nawâz-Khan's daughter, is descended from the ancient sovereigns of Mascat. The mothers of Sultan Mahmud and Sultan Mausum were daughters only of rajahs; for though the kings of Hindostan are muhammedans, they do not scruple to marry into heathen families, when such a measure may promote their interests, or when they may thus obtain a beautiful wife.

But Aureng-Zêbe was frustrated in his intention. Shah-Jehan and Begum-Saheb rejected the proposition with disdain, and the young princess herself manifested the utmost repugnance to the marriage. She remained inconsolable during many days from an apprehension that she might be forcibly taken away, declaring it was her firm purpose to die by her own hand, rather than be united to the son of him who murdered her father.

He was equally unsuccessful in his demand to Shah-Jehan, for certain jewels, with which he was desirous of completing a piece of workmanship that he was adding to the celebrated throne, so universally the object of admiration. The captive monarch indignantly answered that Aureng-Zêbe should be careful only to govern the kingdom with more wisdom and equity: he commanded him not to meddle with the throne; and de-

clared that he would be no more plagued about these jewels, for that hammers were provided to beat them into powder the next time he should be importuned upon the subject.

The Dutch would not be last to present Aureng-Zêbe with the mobarek. They determined to send an ambassador to him, and made choice of Mr. Adrican, chief of the Dutch factory at Surat. This individual possesses integrity, abilities, and sound judgment; and as he does not disdain the advice offered by the wise and experienced, it is not surprising that he acquitted himself to the satisfaction of his countrymen. Although in his general deportment, Aureng-Zêbe be remarkably high and unbending, affects the appearance of a zealous muselman, and consequently despises Europeans or Christians, yet upon the occasion of this embassy, his behaviour was most courteous and condescending. He even expressed a desire that Mr. Adrican, after that gentleman had performed the Indian ceremony of the salam, should approach and salute him according to the custom of his country. The king, it is true, received the letters through the medium of an omrah, but this could not be considered a mark of disrespect, since he had done the same thing in regard to the letters brought by the Usbec ambassadors.

The preliminary observances being over, Aureng-Zêbe intimated that Mr. Adrican might produce his presents; at the same time investing him, and a few gentlemen in his suite, with a serapah

of brocade. The presents consisted of a quantity of very fine broad cloths, scarlet and green; some large looking-glasses; and several articles of Chinese and Japan workmanship; among which were a palanquin and a tucktravan, or field-throne,* of exquisite beauty, and much admired.

The Great Mogul is in the habit of detaining all ambassadors as long as can reasonably be done, from an idea that it is becoming his grandeur and power to receive the homage of foreigners, and to number them among the attendants of his court. Mr. Adrican was not dismissed, therefore, so expeditiously as he wished, though much sooner than the ambassadors from Tartary. His secretary died, and the other individuals in his retinue were falling sick, when Aureng-Zêbe granted him permission to depart. On taking leave, the king again presented him with a serapah of brocade for his own use, and another very rich one for the governor of Batavia, together with a poinard set with jewels; the whole accompanied by an obliging letter.

The chief aim of the Dutch in this embassy, was to ingratiate themselves with the Mogul, and to impart to him some knowledge of their nation, in order that a beneficial influence might thus be produced upon the minds of the governors of

* The tucktravan, a vehicle used by travellers in Asia, is composed of the words tuckt, a seat, and rawan, the participle of the verb rufteen, to go, move, proceed, &c.—*Translator.*

sea ports, and other places, where they have established factories. They hoped that those governors would be restrained from offering insult, and obstructing their commerce, by the consideration that the Dutch belonged to a powerful state, that they could obtain access to the king of India to induce him to listen to their complaints, and to redress their grievances. They endeavoured also, to impress the government with an opinion, that their traffic with Hindostan was most advantageous to that kingdom; exhibiting a long list of articles purchased by their countrymen from which they shewed that the gold and silver brought by them every year into India amounted to a considerable sum: but they kept out of sight, the amount of those precious metals extracted by their constant importations of copper, lead, cinnamon, clove, nutmeg, pepper, aloes wood, and elephants.

It was about this period that one of the most distinguished omrahs ventured to express to Aureng-Zêbe his fears lest his incessant occupations should be productive of injury to his health, and even impair the soundness and vigour of his mind. The king, affecting not to hear, turned from his sage adviser, and advancing slowly toward another of the principal omrahs, a man of good sense and literary acquirements, addressed him in the following terms. The speech was reported to me by the son of that omrah, a young physician, and my intimate friend.

"There can surely be but one opinion among you learned men, as to the obligation imposed upon a sovereign, in seasons of difficulty and danger, to hazard his life, and, if necessary, to die sword in hand, in defence of the people committed to his care. And yet this good and considerate man would fain persuade me that the public weal ought to cause me no solicitude; that, in devising means to promote it, I should never pass a sleepless night, nor spare a single day from the pursuit of some low and sensual gratification. According to him, I am to be swayed by considerations of my own bodily health, and chiefly to study what may best administer to my personal ease and enjoyment. No doubt he would have me abandon the government of this vast kingdom to some vizier: he seems not to consider that, being born the son of a king, and placed on a throne, I was sent into the world by Providence to live and labour, not for myself, but for others; that it is my duty not to think of my own happiness, except so far as it is inseparably connected with the happiness of my people. It is the repose and prosperity of my subjects that it behoves me to consult; nor are they to be sacrificed to any thing besides the demands of justice, the maintenance of the royal authority, and the security of the state. This man cannot penetrate into the consequences of the inertness he recommends, and he is ignorant of the evils that attend upon delegated power. It was not

without reason that our great Sadi emphatically exclaimed "Cease to be kings! O cease to be kings! or determine that your dominions shall be governed only by yourselves." Go, tell thy friend, that if he be desirous of my applause, he must acquit himself well of the trust reposed in him; but let him have a care how he again obtrudes such counsel as it would be unworthy of a king to receive. Alas! we are sufficiently disposed by nature to seek ease and indulgence, and to banish the corrosive cares consequent upon a heartfelt desire to promote the well-being of others. We need no such officious counsellors. Our wives too, are sure to assist us in treading the flowery path of rest and luxury."

A melancholy circumstance happened at this time which excited a great deal of interest in Delhi, particularly in the seraglio, and which proved the fallacy of an opinion entertained by myself, as well as by others, that he who is entirely deprived of virility cannot feel the passion of love.

Didar-Khan, one of the principal eunuchs of the seraglio, had built a house, to which he sometimes resorted for entertainment, and where he often slept. He became enamoured of a beautiful woman, the sister of a neighbour, a pagan, and a scrivener by profession. An illicit intercourse continued for some time between them, without creating much suspicion Didar-Khan was an

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eunuch, and eunuchs are never denied the right of entrance.

The familiarity between the two lovers became at length so remarkable, that the scrivener received various intimations of the doubts entertained as to his sister's chastity. The man felt exasperated, and threatened to put both his sister and the eunuch to death if his suspicion of their guilt should be verified. Proof was not long wanting: they were one night discovered by the brother in the same bed, who stabbed Didar-Khan to the heart, and left his sister for dead.

Nothing could exceed the horror and indignation of the whole seraglio. Women and eunuchs entered into a solemn league to kill the scrivener; but their machinations excited the displeasure of Aureng-Zêbe, who considered that the murderer had made a sufficient atonement for his crime by turning muselman.

It seems nevertheless to be the general opinion, that this rash man cannot long escape the power and malice of the eunuchs. Emasculation, say the Indians, produces a different effect upon men than upon the brute creation; it renders the latter gentle and tractable; but who is the eunuch, they ask, that is not vicious, arrogant and cruel? It is in vain to deny, however, that many among these people are faithful, generous and brave.

Much about the same time, Rochinâra-Begum incurred the displeasure of Aureng-Zêbe; the princess having been suspected of admitting two

men into the seraglio. As it was only suspicion, however, the king was soon reconciled to his sister. Nor did he exercise the same cruelty toward the two men, who were caught and dragged into his presence, as Shah-Jehan had done upon a similar occasion toward the unhappy gallant concealed in the cauldron. I shall relate the whole story exactly as I heard it from the mouth of an old woman, a half-cast Portuguese, who has been many years a slave in the seraglio, and possesses the privilege of going in and out at pleasure. From her I learnt that Rochinara-Begum, after having for several days enjoyed the company of one of these young men, whom she kept hidden, committed him to the care of her female attendants, who promised to conduct their charge out of the seraglio under cover of the night. But whether they were detected or only dreaded a discovery, or whatever else was the reason, the women fled, and left the terrified youth to wander alone about the gardens: here he was found, and taken before Aureng-Zêbe; who, when he had interrogated him very closely, without being able to draw any other confession of guilt from him than that he had scaled the walls, decided that he should be compelled to leave the seraglio in the same manner. But the eunuchs, it is probable, exceeded their master's instructions, for they threw the culprit from the top of the wall to the bottom. As for the second paramour, the old Portuguese informed me that he too was seen

roving about the gardens, and that having told the king he had entered into the seraglio by the regular gate, he was commanded to quit the place through that same gate. Aureng-Zêbe determined, however, to inflict a severe and exemplary punishment upon the eunuchs; because it was essential, not only to the honour of his house, but even to his personal safety, that the entrance into the seraglio should be vigilantly guarded.

Some months after this occurrence five ambassadors arrived at Delhi, nearly at the same time. The first was from the scharif of Mecca, and the presents that accompanied this embassage, consisted of a small number of Arabian horses, and a besom which had been used in the small chapel situated in the centre of the Great Mosque at Mecca; a chapel held in great veneration by muselmans, and called by them Beit-Allah, or the House of God. They believe this was the first temple dedicated to the true God, and that it was erected by Abraham.

The second ambassador was sent by the king of Yemen, or Arabia Felix; and the third by the prince of Bassora; both of whom also brought presents of Arabian horses.

The two other ambassadors came from the king of Habesh, or Ethiopia.

Little or no respect was paid to the first three of these diplomatists. Their equipage was so miserable that every one suspected they came merely for the sake of obtaining money in

return for their presents, and of gaining still more considerable sums by means of the numerous horses, and different articles of merchandise, which they introduced into the kingdom free of all duty, as property belonging to ambassadors. With the produce of these horses and merchandise, they purchased the manufactures of Hindostan, which they also claimed the privilege of taking out of the kingdom without payment of the impost charged on all commodities exported.

The embassy from the king of Ethiopia, may deserve a little more consideration. He was well informed on the subject of the revolution in India, and determined to spread his fame throughout this vast region, by despatching an embassy that should be worthy of his great power and magnificence. The whispers of slander, indeed, if not rather the voice of truth, will have it that in sending these ambassadors, the African had an eye only to the valuable presents which might be received from the liberal hand of Aureng-Zêbe.

The Ethiopian monarch chose for his ambassadors two personages who doubtless enjoyed the greatest distinction at court, and were best qualified to attain the important ends he had in view. One of these was a muhammedan merchant, whom I met a few years before at Mokha, when on my way from Egypt up the Red Sea. He had been sent thither by his august sovereign for the purpose of selling a large number of slaves, and of

purchasing India goods with the money thus commendably obtained.

Such is the honourable traffic of this great and Christian king of Africa!

The other ambassador was an Armenian and Christian merchant; born and married at Aleppo, and known in Ethiopia by the name of Murat. I saw him also at Mokha, where he not only accommodated me with half his apartment, but gave me such advice as deterred me from visiting Ethiopia, as was observed at the commencement of this history. Murat is likewise sent every year to Mokha for the same object as the muhammedan merchant, and always takes with him the annual presents from his master to the English and Dutch East-India companies, and conveys those which they give in return, to Gondar.

The African monarch, anxious that his ambassadors should appear in a style suitable to the occasion, contributed liberally toward the expences of the embassy. He presented them with thirty-two young slaves, boys and girls, to be sold at Mokha; and the money raised by this happy expedient was to supply the expences of the mission. A noble largess indeed! for let it be recollected that young slaves sell at Mokha, one with another, at five and twenty or thirty crowns per head. Besides these, the Ethiopian king sent to Aureng-Zêbe twenty-five choice slaves, nine or ten of whom were of a tender age and in a state to be made eunuchs. This was, to be sure, an appro-

priate donation from a Christian to a muhammedan king, and shews the pure state of religion in Ethiopia! The ambassadors also took charge of other presents for the Great Mogul; fifteen horses, esteemed equal to those of Arabia, and a small species of mule, whose skin I have seen: no tiger is so beautifully marked, and no alacha of the Indies, or silken stuff, is more finely and variously streaked: A couple of elephants' teeth, of a size so prodigious that it required, it seems, the utmost exertion of a strong man to lift either of them from the ground; and lastly, the horn of an ox, filled with civet, which was indeed enormously large; for I measured the mouth of it at Delhi, and found that it exceeded half a French foot in diameter.

The ambassadors, thus royally and munificently provided, departed from Gondar, the capital city of Ethiopia, situated in the province of Dembea. They traversed a desolate country, and were more than two months travelling to Beiloul, an uninhabited sea-port, near Babelmandel and opposite to Mokha. For reasons which I shall perhaps disclose in the course of my narrative, they dared not take the usual and caravan road from Gondar to Arkeeko, a journey easily performed in forty days. From Arkeeko it is necessary to pass over to the island of Masuah, where the Turks have a garrison.

While waiting at Beiloul for a Mokha vessel to cross the Red Sea, the party were in want of

many of the necessaries of life, and some of the slaves died.

On arriving at Mokha, the ambassadors found that the market had been that year overstocked with slaves. The boys and girls, therefore, sold at a reduced price. As soon as their sale was effected, they pursued their voyage, embarking on board an Indian vessel bound to Surat, where they arrived after a tolerable passage of five and twenty days. Several slaves, however, and many horses died; probably from want of proper nourishment, the funds of this pompous embassy being evidently insufficient to supply all its wants. The mule also died, but the skin, which I saw at Delhi, was preserved.

They had not been many hours on shore at Surat, when a certain rebel of Visiapour, named Sevajee, entered the town, which he pillaged and burnt. The house of the ambassadors escaped not the general conflagration; and all that they succeeded in rescuing from the flames, or the ravages of the enemy, was their credentials; a few slaves that Sevajee could not lay hold of, or whom he spared because they happened to be ill; their Ethiopian apparel, which he did not covet; the mule's skin, to which he took no particular fancy; and the ox's horn that had already been emptied of its civet.

These exalted individuals spoke in exaggerated terms of their sad misfortunes; but it was insinuated by the malicious Indians, who witnessed

their deplorable condition on landing,—without decent clothing, destitute of money or bills, and half famished, that the two ambassadors, were, in fact, lucky people, who ought to number the ransacking of Surat among the happiest events of their lives, since it saved them from the mortification of conducting their wretched presents as far as Delhi. Sevajee, the Indians said, had furnished these worthy representatives of the Ethiopian king, with an admirable pretext for appearing like a couple of mendicants, and for soliciting the governor of Surat to supply them with the means of living, and with money and carts to enable them to proceed to the capital. The attack upon Surat had also covered their misdeeds, in disposing, for their own benefit, of the civet, and many of the slaves.

My excellent friend Mr. Adrican, chief of the Dutch factory, gave Murat, the Armenian, a letter of introduction to me, which he delivered into my hands at Delhi, without being aware that I had been his guest at Mokha. It was an agreeable surprise to meet thus unexpectedly, after an absence of five or six years. I embraced my old friend with affection, and promised to render him all the service in my power. Yet, though my acquaintance among the courtiers was pretty extensive, I found it difficult to be useful to these empty-handed ambassadors. The mule's skin and the ox's horn, wherein was kept arrack, or brandy extracted from black sugar, of which

they are excessively fond, constituted the whole of their presents; and the contempt which the absence of valuable presents would alone inspire, was increased by their miserable appearance. They were seen about the streets without palanquins, clad in the true Bedouin fashion, and followed by seven or eight bare-footed and bare-headed slaves, who had no raiment but an ugly scarf round their middle, and the half of a ragged sheet over the left shoulder, which passed under the right arm, in imitation of a summer cloak. Nor had the ambassadors any other carriage than a hired and broken down cart; and they were without any horse besides one belonging to our father the missionary, and one of mine that they sometimes borrowed, and which they nearly killed.

In vain did I for a long time exert myself in behalf of these despised personages; they were regarded as beggars, and could excite no interest. One day, however, when closetted with my aga Danechmend-Khan, who is minister for foreign affairs, I expatiated so successfully upon the grandeur of the Ethiopian monarch, that Aureng-Zêbe was induced to grant the ambassadors an audience, and to receive their letters. He presented both with a serapah, or vest of brocade, a silken and embroidered girdle, and a turban of the same materials and workmanship; gave orders for their maintenance, and on their dismission from

Delhi, which soon took place, invested each with another serapah, and made them a present of six thousand rupees, equal to nearly three thousand crowns: but this money was unequally divided, the muhammedan receiving four thousand rupees, and Murat, because a Christian, only two thousand.

Aureng-Zêbe sent by them, as presents to their royal master, an extremely rich serapah; two cornets, or trumpets, of silver gilt; two silver kettle drums; a poinard studded with rubies; and gold and silver rupees to the amount of about twenty thousand francs: hoping, as he kindly expressed, that this last gift would be peculiarly acceptable, and considered a rarity; the king of Ethiopia not having any coined money in his country.

The Mogul was well aware that not one of these rupees would be taken out of Hindostan, and that the ambassadors would employ them in the purchase of useful commodities. It turned out just as he foresaw. They bought spices; fine cotton cloths, for shirts for the king and queen, and for the king's only legitimate son, who is to succeed to the throne; alachas or silken stuffs striped, some with gold and some with silver, for vests and summer trowsers; English broad cloths, scarlet and green, for a couple of abbs, or Arabian vests, for their king; and lastly, quantities of cloth less fine in their texture for

several ladies of the seraglio and their children. All these goods they were privileged, as ambassadors, to export without payment of duty.

Notwithstanding all my friendship for Murat, there were three reasons why I almost repented of having exercised my influence in his behalf. The first was, that after he had promised to sell me his son for fifty rupees, he sent word he would not part with the boy for less than three hundred. I felt almost disposed to give him his price, that I might have it in my power to say a father had sold me his own child. The lad was remarkably well made, and his skin of the clearest black; the nose was not flat, nor the lips thick, as is commonly the case among the Ethiopians. I was certainly angry with Murat for having violated his engagement.

I had, in the next place, ascertained that my friend, as well as his muhammedan companion, had solemnly promised Aureng-Zêbe to urge his king to permit the repair of a mosque in Ethiopia which had been in ruins since the time of the Portuguese. The Mogul gave the ambassadors two thousand rupees in anticipation of this service. The mosque, erected as the mausoleum of a certain sheik, or dervise, who left Mecca for the purpose of propagating muhammedanism in Ethiopia, was demolished by the Portuguese, when they entered the country with troops from Goa, as allies of the lawful sovereign, who had

embraced Christianity, and been driven from the throne by a muhammedan prince.

My third objection to Murat's conduct arose from the part he took in entreating Aureng-Zêbe, in the name of the Ethiopian king, to send the latter a Koran and eight other books, with the names of which I am familiar, and which are of the first repute among the treatises written in defence of the muhammedan creed.

There seemed to me something extremely base and wicked in these proceedings, on the part of a Christian ambassador, acting in the name of a Christian king. They afforded but too satisfactory a confirmation of the account I had received at Mokha of the low ebb to which Christianity is reduced in the kingdom of Ethiopia. Indeed all the measures of its government, and the character of the people, savour strongly of muhammedanism, and it cannot be doubted that the number, even of nominal Christians, has been on the decline since the death of the king, who was maintained on the throne by the troops from Goa. Soon after that event, the Portuguese, in consequence of the intrigues of the queen-mother, were either killed or driven out of the country. The Jesuit patriarch, whom his countrymen had brought from Goa, was compelled to fly for his life.

During the stay of the ambassadors at Delhi, my aga, ever eager in search of knowledge,

invited them frequently to his house. He asked many questions concerning the condition of their country and the nature of its government; but Danechmend's principal object was to obtain information respecting the source of the Nile. They knew this river by the name of Abbabile, and its source, they say, is perfectly ascertained. Murat and a Mogul, who travelled with him from Ethiopia, have visited the source, and the particulars given by them both, are substantially the same as those I had learnt at Mokha. They informed us that the Nile has its origin in the country of the Agows, rising from two bubbling and contiguous springs, which form a small lake of about thirty or forty paces in length; that the water running out of this lake is already a pretty considerable river; which continues, however, to increase in size by reason of the small tributary streams which, from space to space, flow into it. They added that the river went on in a circuitous course, forming, as it were, a large island; and that after falling from several steep rocks, it entered into a great lake wherein are several fertile islands, quantities of crocodiles, and, what would be much more remarkable, if true, numbers of sea-calves which have no other means of ejecting their excrement than the mouth. This lake is in the country of Dembea, three short journies from Gondar, and four or five from the source of the Nile. The river, they continued, when it leaves the great lake, is much augmented by the numerous rivers and tor-

rents which fall into that lake, especially in the rainy season; which is as periodical as in India, commencing towards the end of July. This, by the way, is an important consideration, and accounts for the overflowing of the Nile. From the lake just mentioned, the river runs by Sennaar, the capital city of the king of Fungi (tributary to the king of Ethiopia) and continues its course until it reaches the plains of Misser or Egypt.

The two ambassadors dilated more copiously than was agreeable either to Danechmend or myself on the magnificence of their sovereign, and the strength of his army; but their travelling companion, the Mogul, never joined in these panegyrics, and told us, during their absence, that he had twice seen this army in the field, commanded by the king in person, and that it is impossible to conceive troops more wretched and worse disciplined.

The Mogul gave us a great deal of information about Ethiopia, the whole of which is noted in my journal, and may one day be given to the public. At present I shall content myself with noticing three or four facts related by Murat, and which, considering that they occurred in a Christian land, will be deemed sufficiently extravagant.

He said that in Ethiopia there are few men who do not keep several wives; nor was he ashamed to confess that he himself had two, besides the wife to whom he was legally married, and who resided in Aleppo. The Ethiopian

women, he observed, do not hide themselves as in India among the muhammedans and even pagans; and nothing is more common than to see females of the lower ranks, whether single or married, bond or free, mingled together, day and night, in the same apartment; the whole of them perfectly unacquainted with those feelings of jealousy so prevalent in other nations. The women, or wives of grandees, are at no great pains to conceal their attachment to any handsome cavalier, whose house they enter without fear or scruple.

If I had visited Ethiopia, I should have been compelled, they told me, to marry. A few years ago, a wife was forced upon an European, a monk, who passed for a Greek physician; and it is curious enough that the woman whom they obliged him to wed was the same that he designed for his son.

A man, eighty years of age, having presented to the king four and twenty sons, all of mature age, and able to carry arms was asked by his majesty whether those were the only children he could exhibit? The old gentleman answered that they were indeed the whole of the male part of his family, but that he was also the father of a few daughters. "Out then from my presence, thou old calf," was the king's rejoinder. "I am astonished that instead of feeling shame, thou presumest to appear before me. Is there a lack of women in my dominions that thou, a man well stricken in years, canst boast of only two dozen

sons?" The Ethiopian king himself has at least eighty children, who are met running about in all parts of the seraglio. They are known by a round stick varnished, resembling a small mace, which the king puts into their hands, and which they carry about with great delight, as a sceptre, to distinguish them from other children.

Aureng-Zêbe sent twice for the ambassadors. He hoped, like my aga, to increase his stock of knowledge by their conversation; but his chief anxiety was to be made acquainted with the state of muhammedanism in their country. He expressed a desire to see the mule's skin, which somehow or other, remained afterward in the fortress, in possession of the officers; much to my disappointment, for it was promised me in return for my good services. I flattered myself I should one day present it to one of our *virtuosi* in Europe. I strongly recommended the ambassadors to shew the great horn to the king, as well as the skin: but this might have subjected them to a very embarrassing question: how it happened that in the the ransacking of Surat, they lost the civet, and yet retained the horn?

The Ethiopian embassy was still in Delhi, when Aureng-Zêbe assembled his privy-council, together with the learned men of his court, for the purpose of selecting a suitable preceptor for his third son, Sultan Acbar, whom he designs for his successor. He evinced upon this occasion the utmost solicitude that this young prince should

receive such an education as might justify the hope of his becoming a great character. No person can be more alive than Aureng-Zêbe to the necessity of storing the minds of princes, destined to rule nations, with useful knowledge. As they surpass others in power and elevation, so ought they, he says, to be pre-eminent in wisdom and virtue. He is very sensible that the cause of the misery which afflicts the empires of Asia, of their misrule, and consequent decay, should be sought, and will be found, in the deficient and pernicious mode of instructing the children of kings. Entrusted from infancy to the care of women and eunuchs, slaves from Russia, Circassia, Mingrelia, Georgia, or Ethiopia, whose minds are debased by the very nature of their occupation; servile and mean to superiors, proud and oppressive to dependents;—the princes, when called to the throne, leave the walls of the seraglio, instructed only in crime, and awfully ignorant of the duties imposed upon them by their new situation. They appear on the stage of life, as if they came from another world, or emerged, for the first time, from a subterraneous cavern, and stare, like simpletons, at every object they see. Either like children, they are credulous in every thing, and in dread of every thing; or, with the obstinacy and heedlessness of folly, they are deaf to every sage counsel, and rash in every stupid enterprise. According to their natural temperament, or the first ideas impressed upon their minds, such princes, on succeeding to a

crown, affect to be dignified and grave, though it be easy to discern that gravity and dignity form no part of their character, that the appearance of those qualities is the effect of some ill-studied lesson, and that they are in fact only other names for savageness and vanity; or else they assume a disgusting politeness in their demeanour, disgusting because unnatural and constrained. Who, that is conversant with the history of Asia, can deny the faithfulness of this delineation? Have not her sovereigns been blindly and brutally cruel,—cruel without judgment or direction? Have they not been addicted to the mean and gross vice of drunkenness, and abandoned to an excessive and shameless luxury; ruining their bodily health, and impairing their understanding, in the society of concubines? Or, instead of attending to the concerns of the kingdom, have not their days been consumed in the pleasures of the chace? A pack of dogs will engage their thoughts and affection, although indifferent to the sufferings of so many poor people who, compelled to follow the unfeeling monarch in the pursuit of game, are left to die of hunger, heat, cold, and fatigue. In a word, the kings of Asia are constantly living in the indulgence of monstrous vices, those vices varying, indeed, as I said before, according to their natural propensities, or to the ideas early instilled into their minds. It is indeed a rare exception when the sovereign is not profoundly ignorant of the domestic and political condition of his empire.

The reins of government are often committed to the hands of some vizier, who, that he may reign lord absolute, with security and without contradiction, considers it an essential part of his plan to encourage his master in all his low pursuits, and divert him from every avenue of knowledge. If the sceptre be not firmly grasped by the first minister, then the country is governed by the king's mother, originally a wretched slave, and by a set of eunuchs, persons who possess no enlarged and liberal views of policy, and who employ their time in barbarous intrigues; banishing, imprisoning, and strangling each other, and frequently the grandees and the vizier himself. Indeed, under their disgraceful domination, no man of any property is secure of life for a single day.

When Aureng-Zêbe had received the different embassies I have described, news at length reached the court that one from Persia had arrived on the frontier. Persian omrahs, and others of that nation, in the service of the Mogul, spread a report that affairs of the utmost moment brought the ambassador to Hindostan. Intelligent persons, however, gave no credence to the rumour: the period for great events was gone by, and it was clear that the Persians had no other reason for saying their countryman was entrusted with an important commission, than a vain and overweening desire to exalt their nation. It was also pretended by the same individnals, that the omrah appointed to meet the ambassador on the frontier, and to

provide for his honourable treatment during his journey to the capital, was strictly enjoined to spare no pains to discover the principal object of the embassy. He was instructed, they said, to prepare, by degrees, the haughty Persian for the ceremony of the salam, which was to be represented, as well as that of delivering all letters through the medium of a third person, as a custom that has invariably obtained from time immemorial. It is sufficiently evident, however, from what we witnessed, that these were idle tales. Aureng-Zêbe is raised much above the necessity of recurring to such expedients.

On his entry into the capital, the ambassador was received with every demonstration of respect. The bazaars through which he passed were all newly painted, and the cavalry lining both sides of the way extended beyond a league. Many omrahs, accompanied with instruments of music, attended the procession, and a salute of artillery was fired upon his entering the gate of the fortress, or royal palace. Aureng-Zêbe welcomed him with the greatest politeness; manifested no displeasure at his making the Persian salam, and unhesitatingly received from his hands, the letters of which he was the bearer; raising them, in token of peculiar respect, nearly to the crown of his head. An eunuch having assisted him to unseal the letters, the king perused the contents with a serious and solemn countenance, and then commanded that the ambassador should

be clad, in his presence, with a serapah; that is, a vest of brocade, a turban, and a silken sash, embroidered with gold and silver. This part of the ceremony over, the Persian was informed that the moment was come for the display of the presents; which were composed of five and twenty horses, as beautiful as I ever beheld, with housings of embroidered brocade; twenty highly bred camels, that might have been mistaken for small elephants, such was their size and strength; a considerable number of boxes, containing excellentrose- water, and another sort of distilled water, called beidmchk, a cordial held in the highest estimation and very scarce; five or six carpets of extraordinary size and beauty; a few pieces of brocade extremely rich, wrought in small flowers, in so fine and delicate a style that I doubt if any thing so elegant was ever seen in Europe; four Damascus cutlasses, and the same number of poinards, the whole covered with precious stones; and lastly, five or six sets of horse-furniture, which were particularly admired. The last were indeed very handsome and of superior richness; ornamented with superb embroidery and with small pearls, and turkoises of great value from the old mine.*

* The author calls them turkois *de la vielle roche;* a term which, in speaking of diamonds, is used by the French to describe those of the finest water, but which, in speaking of turkois, (so called from being found in Turkey Proper, or the country from which the Turks originally came) means

It was remarked that Aureng-Zêbe seemed unusually pleased with this splendid present; he examined every part minutely, noticed its elegance and rarity, and frequently extolled the munificence of the king of Persia. He assigned the ambassador a place among the principal omrahs; and after speaking about his long and fatiguing journey, and expressing his desire to see him every day, he dismissed this august and highly favoured personage.

He remained at Delhi four or five months, living sumptuously at Aureng-Zêbe's expence, and partaking of the hospitality of the chief omrahs, who invited him by turns to grand entertainments. When permitted to return to his country, the king invested him with a second rich serapah, and put him in possession of other valuable donations, reserving the presents intended for the Persian monarch for the embassy that he determined to send, and which was very soon appointed.

Notwithstanding the strong and unequivocal marks of respect conferred by Aureng-Zêbe upon this last ambassador, the Persians at Delhi endeavoured to impose a belief that the king of Persia, in his letters, reproached him keenly with the

those of the old mine, to distinguish them from the turkois of a new mine, which are not nearly so much esteemed. The turkois of the old mine were, according to Chardin, reserved exclusively for the king of Persia. That mine has long since been exhausted.—*Translator.*

death of Dara, and the incarceration of Shah-Jehan, representing such actions as unworthy a brother, a son, and a faithful muselman. He also, they said, reproved him for having assumed the name of Allum-guire, or Conqueror of the World, and for causing it to be inscribed on the coins of Hindostan. They went so far as to affirm that these words formed part of the letters: "Since then thou art this Allum-guire Besm-Illah, I send thee, in the name of God, a sword and horses. Let us now, therefore, approach each other." This would indeed have been throwing down the gauntlet. I give the story as I received it: to contradict it is not in my power; easy as any person finds it in this court to come to the knowledge of every secret, provided he be acquainted with the language, possess good friends, and be as profuse of money as myself for the sake of gratifying his curiosity. But I cannot be easily persuaded that the king of Persia made use of the language ascribed to him: it would savour too much of empty bluster and menace, though it cannot be denied that the Persians are apt to assume a lofty tone when they wish to impress an idea of their power and influence. I rather incline to the opinion entertained by the best informed, that Persia is not in a condition to act aggressively against such an empire as Hindostan. She will be sufficiently happy if she retain Candaher, on the side of India, and preserve the integrity of her frontier on the side of Turkey,

The wealth and strength of that nation are accurately estimated. Her throne is not always filled by a Shah-Abas, a sovereign intrepid, enlightened and politic; capable of turning every occurrence to his benefit, and of accomplishing great designs with small means. If her government meditate any enterprise against this kingdom, and be animated with a feeling of abhorrence on account of some recent transactions, who can explain why, during the late civil wars, she remained a quiet and apparently an unconcerned spectator of the heart-rending calamities with which they were attended. She was unmoved by the entreaties of Dara, Shah-Jehan, Sultan Sujah, and perhaps of the governor of Cabul; although she might, with a comparatively small army, and at an inconsiderable expence, have gained possession of the fairest part of Hindostan, from the kingdom of Cabul to the banks of the Indus, and even beyond that river; thus constituting herself the arbitress of every dispute.

The king of Persia's letters, however, either contained some offensive expressions, or Aureng-Zebe took umbrage at the conduct or language of the ambassador; because the king complained, two or three days after the embassy had quitted Delhi, that the hamstrings of the horses presented in the name of the Persian monarch, had been cut by order of the ambassador. He commanded, therefore, that he should be intercepted on the frontier, and deprived of all the Indian slaves he

was taking away. It is certain that the number of these slaves was most unreasonable; he had purchased them extremely cheap on account of the famine, and it is also said that his servants had stolen a great many children.

Aureng-Zêbe, during the stay of this embassy at Delhi, was careful to demean himself with strict propriety; unlike his father, Shah-Jehan, who, upon a similar occasion, either provoked the anger of the ambassador of the celebrated Shah-Abas, by an ill-timed haughtiness, or excited his contempt by an unbecoming familiarity.

A Persian, who wishes to indulge in any satirical merriment at the expence of the Indians, relates a few such anecdotes as the following.

When Shah-Jehan had made several fruitless attempts to subdue the arrogance of the ambassador, whom no arguments or caresses could induce to salute the Great Mogul according to the Indian mode, he devised this artifice to gain his end. He commanded that the grand entrance of the court leading to the Am-kas, where he intended to receive the ambassador, should be closed, and the wicket only left open; a wicket so low that a man could not pass through without stooping, and holding down the head as is customary in making the Indian salam. Shah-Jehan hoped by this expedient to have it in his power to say that the ambasador, in approaching the royal presence, bowed the head even nearer to the ground than is usual in his court; but the proud and quick-sighted

Persian, penetrating into the Mogul's design, entered the wicket with his back turned toward the king. Shah-Jehan vexed, to see himself overcome by the ambassador's stratagem, said indignantly, "Eh-bed-bakt, Wretch! didst thou imagine thou wast entering a stable of asses like thyself?" "I did imagine it," was the answer. "Who, on going through such a door, can believe he is visiting any but asses?"

Another story is this :—Shah-Jehan, displeased with some rude and coarse answer made by the Persian ambassador, was provoked to say, "Eh-bed-bakt! has then Shah-Abas no gentleman in his court that he sends me such a hare-brained fellow?" "O, yes! the court of my sovereign abounds with polite and accomplished men; but he adapts the ambassador to the king."

One day, having invited the ambassador to dine at the royal table, and seeking, as usual, an occasion to discompose and vex him; while the Persian was busily employed in picking a great many bones, the king said coolly, "Eheltchygy, my lord ambassador, what shall the dogs eat?" "Kichery," was the prompt answer; a favourite dish of Shah-Jehan, and which he was then devouring with avidity. Kichery is a mess of leguminous plants, the general food of the common people.

The Mogul enquiring what he thought of his new Delhi, then building, as compared to Ispahan; he answered aloud, and with an oath, "Billah! billah! Ispahan cannot be compared to the dust

of your Delhi:" which reply the king took as a high encomium upon his favourite city, though the ambassador intended it in sportive derision, the dust being intolerable in Delhi.

Lastly, the Persians pretended that their countryman being pressed by Shah-Jehan to tell him candidly how he estimated the relative power of the kings of Hindostan and Persia; he observed, that he likened India to a full moon fifteen or sixteen days old, and Persia to a young moon of two or three days. This ingenious answer was at first very flattering to the Great Mogul's pride, but became a source of deep mortification when he had rightly interpreted the ambassador's meaning; which was that the kingdom of Hindostan is now on the decline, and that of Persia advancing, like the crescent, in splendour and magnitude.

Such are the witticisms so much vaunted by the Persians in India, and which they seem never tired of repeating. For my part, I think a dignified gravity and respectful demeanour would better become an ambassador than the assumption of a supercilious and unbending carriage, or the indulgence of a taunting and sarcastic spirit. Even if he possessed no higher principle to regulate his conduct, it is surprising that Shah-Abas's ambassador was not constrained by common considerations of prudence; and how much he had to fear from the resentment of a despot, whom he foolishly and unnecessarily provoked, was seen by the danger he narrowly escaped. Shah-Jehan's

malignity grew so violent and undisguised that he addressed him only in the most opprobrious terms, and gave secret orders that when the ambassador entered a long and narrow street in the fortress, leading to the Hall of Assembly, a vicious elephant should be let loose upon him. A less active and courageous man must have been killed; but the Persian was so nimble in jumping out of his palanquin, and, together with the attendants, so prompt and dexterous in shooting his bows, that the animal was scared away.

Moollah Salé's celebrated reception at court took place in the same month that the Persian ambassador returned to his own country. This old man had been Aureng-Zêbe's preceptor, and had resided during several years on an estate presented to him by Shah-Jehan, when he was made acquainted with the termination of the civil war, and the complete success which had attended the ambitious projects of his former pupil. He hastened to Delhi, sanguine in his expectation of being immediately advanced to the rank of omrah. There was no person of influence whom he did not engage in his favour, and Rochinara-Begum was among those who reminded the king that his venerable and faithful tutor had become a candidate for honours and preferment. Three months elapsed before Aureng-Zêbe would seem to know that such a person was within the purlieus of the court; but weary at last with seeing him constantly in his presence, the Mogul commanded that he should come to him in his closet, where only

Hakim-ul-Mouluk, Danechmend-Khan, and three or four other grandees who enjoy a reputation for science were present. He then spoke in nearly the following words. I say nearly, because it is impossible to transcribe so long a discourse precisely in the terms in which it was delivered. Had I been present myself, instead of my aga, from whom I received a report of the speech, I could not hope to be verbally correct. There can be no doubt, however, that what Aureng-Zêbe said, was substantially as follows:—"Pray what is your pleasure with me, Moollah-gy, noble doctor? Do you pretend that I ought to exalt you to the first honours of the state? Let us then examine your title to any mark of distinction. I do not deny you would possess such a title if you had filled my young mind with suitable instruction. Shew me a well educated youth, and I will say that it is doubtful who has the stronger claim upon his gratitude, his father or his tutor. But what was the knowledge I derived under your tuition? You taught me that the whole of Frangistan,* was no more than some inconsiderable island, of which the most powerful monarch was formerly the king of Portugal, then the king of Holland, and afterward the king of England. In regard to the other sovereigns of Frangistan, such as the king of France and the king of Andalusia, you told me

* Europe.

they resembled our petty rajahs, and that the potentates of Hindostan eclipsed the glory of all other kings; that they alone were Humaioons, Acbars, Jehan-Guires, or Shah-Jehans; the Happy, the Great, the Conquerors of the World, and the Kings of the World; and that Persia, Usbec, Kashgar, Tartary, Pegu, Siam, China, and Manchew China, trembled at the name of the kings of India. Admirable geographer! deeply read historian! Was it not incumbent upon my preceptor to make me acquainted with the distinguishing features of every nation of the earth; its resources and strength; its mode of warfare, its manners, religion, form of government, and wherein its interests principally consist; and, by a regular course of historical reading, to render me familiar with the origin of states, their progress and decline; the events, accidents, or errors, owing to which such great changes and mighty revolutions, have been effected? Far from having imparted to me a profound and comprehensive knowledge of the history of mankind, scarcely did I learn from you the names of my ancestors, the renowned founders of this empire. You kept me in total ignorance of their lives, of the events which preceded, and the extraordinary talents that enabled them to achieve, their extensive conquests. A familiarity with the languages of surrounding nations may be indispensible in a king; but you would teach me to read and write Arabic; doubtless conceiving that you placed me under an

everlasting obligation for sacrificing so large a portion of time to the study of a language wherein no one can hope to become proficient without ten or twelve years of close application. Forgetting how many important subjects ought to be embraced in the education of a prince, you acted as as if it were chiefly necessary that he should possess great skill in grammar, and such knowledge as belongs to a doctor of law; and thus did you waste the precious hours of my youth in the dry, unprofitable, and never ending task, of learning words!"

Such was the language in which Aureng-Zêbe expressed his resentment; but some of the learned men, either wishing to flatter the monarch and add energy to his speech; or actuated by jealousy of Moolah-Salé, affirm that the king's reproof did not end here, but that, when he had spoken for a short time on indifferent subjects, he resumed his discourse in this strain: "Were you not aware that it is during the period of infancy, when the memory is commonly so retentive, that the mind may receive a thousand wise precepts, and be easily furnished with such valuable instruction as will elevate it with lofty conceptions, and render the individual capable of glorious deeds? Can we repeat our prayers, or acquire a knowledge of law and of the sciences, only through the medium of Arabic? May not our devotions be offered up as acceptably, and solid

information communicated as easily in our moth tongue? You gave my father, Shah-Jehan, 1 understand that you instructed me in philosophy and, indeed, I have a perfect remembrance (your having, during several years, harassed m brain with idle and foolish propositions, the solu tion of which yield no satisfaction to the mind;— propositions that seldom enter into the business c life; wild and extravagant reveries conceived wit great labour, and forgotten as soon as conceived whose only effect is to fatigue and ruin the intel lect, and to render a man headstrong and insuffer able.* O yes, you caused me to devote the mos valuable years of my life to your favourite hypo theses or systems and when I left you, I could boas of no greater attainment in the sciences, than th use of many obscure and uncouth terms, calculate to discourage, confound, and appal a youth of th most masculine understanding: terms invented tc cover the vanity and ignorance of pretenders to philosophy; of men who, like yourself, would impose the belief that they transcend others of thei species in wisdom, and that their dark and ambiguous jargon conceals many profound mysteries known only to themselves. If you had taught me that philosophy which adapts the mind to reason, and will not suffer it to rest satisfied with any thing short of the most solid arguments; if you had inculcated lessons which elevate the

* Their philosophy abounds with even more absurd and obscure notions than our own.—*Bernier.*

soul, and fortify it against the assaults of fortune, tending to produce that enviable equanimity which is neither insolently elated by prosperity, nor basely depressed by adversity; if you had made me acquainted with the nature of man; accustomed me always to refer to first principles, and given me a sublime and adequate conception of the universe, and of the order and regular motion of its parts;—if such, I say, had been the nature of the philosophy imbibed under your tuition, I should be more indebted to you than Alexander was to Aristotle, and should consider it my duty to bestow a very different reward on you than Aristotle received from that prince. Answer me sycophant, ought you not to have instructed me on one point at least, so essential to be known by a king; namely, on the reciprocal duties of a sovereign and his subjects, and of subjects towards their sovereign? Ought you not also to have foreseen that I might, at some future period, be compelled to contend with my brothers, sword in hand, for the crown, and for my very existence? Such, as you must well know, has been the fate of the children of almost every king of Hindostan. Did you ever instruct me in the art of war, how to besiege a town, or draw up an army in battle array? Happy for me that I consulted wiser heads than thine on these subjects! Go; withdraw to thy village. Henceforth let no person know either who thou art, or what is become of thee."

An event occurred at this period not very cre ditable to the astrologers. The large majority o Asiatics are so infatuated in favour of judicia astrology, that, according to their phraseology, nc circumstance can happen below, which is not written above. In every enterprise they consult their astrologers. When two armies have completed every preparation for battle, no consideration can induce the generals to commence the engagement until the sahet be performed; that is, until the propitious moment for attack be ascertained. In like manner no commanding officer is nominated, no marriage takes place, and no journey is undertaken, without consulting these seers. Their advice is considered absolutely necessary even on the most trifling occasions; as the proposed purchase of a slave, or the first wearing of new clothes. This silly superstition is so general an annoyance, and attended with such important and disagreeable consequences, that I am astonished it has continued so long: the astrologer is necessarily made acquainted with every transaction public and private, with every project common and extraordinary.

Now it happened that the king's principal astrologer fell into the water and was drowned. This melancholy accident caused a great sensation at court, and proved injurious to the reputation of these professors in divination. The man who had thus lost his life always performed the sahet for the king and the omrahs; and the

people naturally wondered that an astrologer of such extensive experience, and who had for many years predicted happy incidents for others, should have been incapable of foreseeing the sad catastrophe by which he was himself overwhelmed. It was insinuated that in Frangistan,* where the sciences flourish, professors in astrology are considered little better than cheats and jugglers, that it is there much doubted whether the science be founded on good and solid principles, and whether it be not used by designing men as a mean of gaining access to the great, of making them feel their dependence, and their absolute need of these pretended soothsayers.

The astrologers were much displeased with these and similar observations, and particularly with the following anecdote, which was universally known and repeated.—Shah-Abas, the great king of Persia, having given orders that a small piece of ground within the seraglio should be prepared for a garden, the master-gardener, intended to plant there several fruit trees on a given day; but the astrologer, assuming an air of vast consequence, declared that unless the time of planting were regulated by the sahet, it was impossible that the trees should thrive. Shah-Abas having acquiesced in the propriety of the remark, the astrologer took his instruments, turned over the pages of his books, made his calculations and con-

* Europe.

cluded that, by reason of this or that conjunction of the planets, it was necessary to plant the. trees, before the expiration of another hour. The gardener, who thought of nothing less than an appeal to the stars, was absent when this wise determination was formed; but persons were soon procured to accomplish the work: holes were dug, and all the trees put into the ground, the king placing them himself that it might be said they were all planted by the hand of Shah-Abas. The gardener returning at his usual hour in the afternoon, was greatly surprised to see his labour anticipated; but observing that the trees were not ranged according to the order he had originally designed, that an apricot, for example, was placed in the soil intended for an apple tree, and a pear tree in that prepared for an almond, he pulled up the premature plantation, and laid down the trees for that night on the ground, covering the roots with earth. In an instant the astrologer was apprised of the gardener's proceedings, and he was equally expeditious in complaining to Shah-Abas, who, on his part, sent immediately for the culprit. "How is it," cried the monarch indignantly, "that you have presumed to tear up trees planted by my own hands; trees put into the ground after the solemn performance of the sahet? We cannot now hope to repair the mischief. The stars had marked the hour for planting, and no fruit can henceforth grow in the garden." The honest rustic had taken liberal potations of Schiraz wine, and

looking askance at the astrologer, observed after an oath or two, "Billah, billah, an admirable sahet certainly! thou augur of evil! Trees planted under thy direction at noon, are in the evening torn up by the roots." Shah-Abas, hearing this unexpected piece of satirical drollery, laughed heartily, turned his back upon the astrologer and walked away in silence.

I shall mention two other circumstances, although they happened during the reign of Shah-Jehan. The narration will be useful in shewing that the barbarous and ancient custom obtains in this country, of the king's constituting himself sole heir of the property of those who die in his service.

Neiknam-Khan was one of the most distinguished omrahs at court, and during forty or fifty years while he held important offices had amassed an immense treasure. This lord always viewed with disgust the odious and tyrannical custom abovementioned, a custom in consequence of which the widows of so many great omrahs are plunged suddenly into a state of wretchedness and destitution, compelled to solicit the monarch for a scanty pittance, while their sons are driven to the necessity of enlisting as private soldiers under the command of some omrah. Finding his end approaching, the old man secretly distributed the whole of his treasure among distressed widows and poor cavaliers, and afterwards filled the coffers with old iron, bones, worn out shoes and tattered

clothes. When he had securely closed and sealed them, he observed that those coffers contained property belonging exclusively to Shah-Jehan. On the death of Neiknam-Khan, they were conveyed to the king, who happened to be in the assembly, and who, inflamed with eager cupidity, commanded them to be instantly opened in the presence of all his omrahs. His disappointment and vexation may easily be conceived; he started abruptly from his seat and hurried from the hall.

Some years after the death of a wealthy banian, or pagan merchant, who had always been employed in the king's service, and, like the generality of his countrymen, had been a notorious usurer, the son became clamorous for a certain portion of the money. The widow refusing to comply with the young man's request, on account of his profligacy and extravagance, he had the baseness and folly to make Shah-Jehan acquainted with the real amount of the property left by his father, about two hundred thousand crowns. The Mogul immediately summoned the old lady, and, in presence of the assembled omrahs, commanded her to send him immediately one hundred thousand rupees, and to put her son in possession of fifty thousand. Having issued this peremptory injunction, he ordered the attendants to turn the widow out of the hall.

Although surprised by so sudden a request, and somewhat offended at being rudely forced from the chamber without an opportunity of

assigning the reasons of her conduct, yet this courageous woman did not lose her presence of mind; she struggled with the servants, exclaiming that she had something further to divulge to the king. "Let us hear what she has to say," cried Shah-Jehan. "Hazret-Salamet! Heaven preserve your majesty! It is not perhaps without some reason that my son claims the property of his father; he is our son, and consequently our heir. But I would humbly enquire what consanguinity there may have been between your majesty and my deceased husband to warrant the demand of one hundred thousand rupees?" Shah-Jehan was so well pleased with this short and artless harangue, and so amused with the idea of a banian, or idolatrous tradesman, having been related to the sovereign of India, that he burst into a fit of laughter, and commanded that the widow should be left in the undisturbed enjoyment of the money of her deceased husband.

I shall not now relate all the considerable events which took place, from the conclusion of the war in or about the year 1660, to the period of my departure, more than six years afterwards. I doubt not that the account would very much promote the object I had in view in recording some of them; namely, an acquaintance with the manners and genius of the Moguls and Indians, and I may, therefore, notice the whole of those events in another place. At present, however, I

shall confine my narration to a few important circumstances which regard personages with whom my readers are become familiar; beginning with Shah-Jehan.

I. Although Aureng-Zêbe kept his father closely confined in the fortress of Agra and neglected no precaution to prevent his escape, yet the deposed monarch was otherwise treated with indulgence and respect. He was permitted to occupy his former apartments, and to enjoy the society of Begum-Saheb and the whole of his female establishment, including the singing and dancing women, cooks, and others. In these respects no request was ever denied him; and as the old man became devout, certain moollahs were allowed to enter his apartment and read the Koran. He possessed also the privilege of sending for all kinds of animals, horses of state, fowling birds and tame antelopes, which last were made to fight before him. Indeed, Aureng-Zêbe's behaviour was throughout kind and respectful, and he paid attention to his aged parent in every possible way. He loaded him with presents, consulted him as an oracle, and the frequent letters of the son to the father were expressive of duty and submission. By these means Shah-Jehan's anger and haughtiness were at length subdued, insomuch that he frequently wrote to Aureng-Zêbe on political affairs, sent him Dara's daughter, and begged his acceptance of some of those precious stones, which he had threatened to

grind to powder if again importuned to resign them. He even granted to his rebellious son the paternal pardon and benediction which he had often with vehement importunity in vain solicited.

It should not be inferred from what I have said, that Shah-Jehan was always soothed with compliant submission. I was convinced by one of Aureng-Zêbe's letters, that he could adress his father with energy and decision, when provoked by the arrogant and authoritative tone sometimes assumed by the aged monarch. I obtained a sight of a portion of the letter, which ran in these words:—"It is your wish that I should adhere rigidly to the old custom, and declare myself heir to every person who dies in my service. We have been accustomed, as soon as an omrah, or a rich merchant has ceased to breathe, nay sometimes before the vital spark has fled, to place seals on his coffers, to imprison and beat the servants or officers of his household, until they made a full disclosure of the whole property, even of the most inconsiderable jewel. This practice is advantageous, no doubt; but can we deny its injustice and cruelty; and should we not be rightly served if every omrah acted as Neiknam-Khan, and if like the Hindoo merchant's widow, every woman concealed her wealth?

"I wish to avoid your censure, and cannot endure that you should form a wrong estimate of my character. My elevation to the throne has

not, as you imagine, filled me with insolence and pride. You know by more than forty years experience, how burthensome an ornament a crown is, and with how sad and aching a heart a monarch retires from the public gaze. Our great ancestor Acbar, anxious that his successors should exercise their power with mildness, discretion and wisdom, recommended to their serious attention, in the excellent memoirs left behind him, a fine trait of Mir-Timour. He recounts that on the day on which Bajazet was made prisoner, when he was brought into the presence of Timour, the latter, after attentively fixing his eyes upon the haughty captive, laughed in his face. Bajazet, much offended at this rudeness, told the conqueror not to exult too extravagantly in his good fortune; 'It is God,' said he, 'who exalts or debases kings, and though you are victorious to day, you may be in chains to-morrow.' 'I am very sensible,' answered Timour, 'of the vanity and mutability of earthly possessions, and Heaven forbid that I should insult a fallen enemy. My laughter proceeded not from any wish to wound thy feelings, Bajazet; it escaped involuntarily, while I was indulging a series of ideas suggested by the uncomeliness of both our persons, I looked at thy countenance, rendered unsightly by the loss of an eye; and then considering that I am myself a miserable cripple, was led into a train of reflections, which provoked me to laughter. What can there be within the circle of a crown,' I asked, 'which

ought to inspire kings with inordinate self-esteem, since Heaven bestows the bauble upon such ill-favoured mortals!'

"You seem to think, that I ought to devote less time and attention to measures, which I conceive essential to the consolidation and security of the kingdom, and that it would better become me to devise and execute plans of aggrandizement. I am indeed far from denying that conquests ought to distinguish the reign of a great monarch, and that I should disgrace the blood of the great Timour, our honoured progenitor, if I did not seek to extend the bounds of my present territories. At the same time, I cannot be justly reproached with inglorious inaction, and you cannot with truth assert that my armies are unprofitably employed in the Deccan and in Bengal. I wish you to recollect that the greatest conquerors are not always the greatest kings. The nations of the earth have often been subjugated by mere uncivilized barbarians, and the most extensive conquests have in a few short years crumbled to pieces. He is the truly great king who makes it the chief business of his life to govern his subjects with equity." The remainder of this letter was not put into my hands.

II. I shall now say a few words of the celebrated Emir-Jemla, recur to some of the incidents wherein he was concerned after the termination of the civil war, and mention the manner in which he closed his brilliant career.

In effecting the subjugation of Bengal that great man did not behave to Sultan Sujah with the cruelty and breach of faith practised by Jihon-Khan towards Dara, or by the rajah of Serinagur towards Solimân-Shekô. He obtained possession of the country like a skilful captain, and disdaining any unworthy stratagem to secure Sujah's person, contented himself with driving the discomfited prince to the sea, and compelling him to leave the kingdom. Emir-Jemla then sent an eunuch to Aureng-Zêbe with a letter, supplicating the king to permit his family to repair to Bengal under the eunuch's care. "The war is happily at an end," he said, "and as I am enfeebled and broken down by age, you will not, you surely cannot refuse me the consolation of passing the remainder of my days with my wife and children." But Aureng-Zêbe penetrated at once into the design of this expert politician; he knew that if his son Mahmet Emir-Khan were permitted to visit Bengal, Jemla would aspire to the independent sovereignty of that kingdom, if indeed such an acquisition would have satisfied the pretensions of that extraordinary man. He was intelligent, enterprising, brave and wealthy; at the head of a victorious army; beloved and feared by his soldiers, and in possession of the finest province in Hindostan. The transactions in which he had been engaged in Golconda proved his impatient and daring spirit, and directly to refuse compliance with his request would unquestionably

have been attended with danger. Aureng-Zêbe acted upon this occasion with his wonted prudence and address. He sent to the emir his wife and daughter, together with his son's children; created him mir-ul-omrah, the highest rank that can be conferred by the king of India; and appointed Mahmet Emir-Khan Grand Bakchis, or Grand Master of the Horse, the second or third situation in the state, which, however, confines the possessor to the court, rendering it difficult, if not impossible, for him to remain at a distance from the king's person. Jemla was also fixed in the government of Bengal.

Foiled in his object, the emir felt that a second demand for his son could not be made without offending the king, and that his wisest course was to express gratitude for all these marks of royal favour.

Affairs had remained in this state nearly a twelvemonth, when the Mogul offered to Jemla the management of a war against the rich and powerful Rajah of Assam, whose territories lie north of Dacca, on the gulf of Bengal. Aureng-Zêbe justly apprehended that an ambitious soldier could not long remain in a state of repose, and that, if disengaged from foreign war, he would seek occasion to excite internal commotions.

The emir himself had been long meditating this enterprise, which he hoped would enable him to carry his arms to the confines of China, and secure to himself immortal fame. Aureng-Zêbe's

messenger found him perfectly prepared for the expedition. A powerful army was soon embarked at Dacca, on a river flowing from the dominions about to be invaded, and Jemla and his troops ascended the stream in a north-east direction, until they reached a fortress named Azo, distant about one hundred leagues from Dacca, which the Rajah of Assam had wrested from a former governor of Bengal. Azo was besieged and taken in less than a fortnight. The emir then proceeded toward Chamdara, the key of the rajah's dominions, which he reached after a long march of eight and twenty days. Here a battle was fought to the rajah's disadvantage, who retired to Kirganu, his capital city, forty leagues from Chamdara; but being closely and vigorously pressed by Jemla, he had not time to fortify himself in that place, and was therefore compelled to continue his retreat to the mountains of the kingdom of Lassa. Chamdara and Kirganu were given up to pillage. The latter contained an infinite booty for the captors. It is a large and well-built city, very commercial, and celebrated for the beauty of its women.

The progress of the invaders was checked by the rains which fell sooner than is customary, and which in this country are very heavy, inundating every spot of ground, with the exception of villages built on eminences. In the mean time, the rajah cleared the whole country, round the emir's position, of cattle and every kind of provision, so that ere the rains ceased the army was reduced to great

and urgent distress, notwithstanding the immense riches which it had accumulated. Jemla found it equally difficult to advance or to recede. The mountains in front presented impracticable barriers, while a retreat was prevented not only by the waters and deep mud, but also by the precaution taken by the rajah to break down the dike which forms the road to Chamdara. The emir therefore was confined to his camp during the whole of the rainy season, and, on the return of dry weather, his men were so dispirited by their incessant fatigue and long privations, that he abandoned the idea of conquering Assam. Under a less able commander, the army could not have hoped to reach Bengal: the want of provisions was severely felt; the mud being still thick, greatly impeded the motions of the troops, and the rajah was active and indefatigable in pursuit; but Jemla conducted the movements of his army with his usual skill, and by his admirable retreat added greatly to his reputation. He returned laden with wealth.

The emir, having improved the fortifications of Azo, left a strong garrison in that fortress, intending to renew, early in the following year, the invasion of Assam; but this illustrious man fell a victim to the dysentery which attacked the army soon after their arrival in Bengal.

His death produced, as might be expected, a great sensation throughout India. "It is now,"

observed many intelligent persons, "that Aureng-Zêbe is king of Bengal." Though not insensible of his obligations of gratitude, yet the Mogul was perhaps not sorry to have lost a vicegerent whose power and mental resources had excited so much pain and uneasiness. "You mourn," he publicly said to Mahmet Emir-Khan, "you mourn the death of an affectionate parent, and I the loss of the most powerful and most dangerous of my friends." He behaved, however, with the utmost kindness and liberality to Mahmet; assured the young man that in himself he should always find a second father; and instead of diminishing his pay, or seizing upon Jemla's treasures, Aureng-Zêbe confirmed Mahmet in his office of Bakchis, gave him an additional salary of a thousand rupees per month, and constituted him sole heir to his father's property.

III. I shall now bring before the notice of my readers, Aureng-Zêbe's uncle, Shaista-Khan, who, as I have already said, contributed in an essential degree by his eloquence and intrigues to the exaltation of his nephew. He was appointed, as we have seen, governor of Agra, a short time before the battle of Kidgwâ, when Aureng-Zêbe quitted the capital to meet Sultan Sujah. He was afterwards nominated governor of the Deccan, and commander in chief of the forces in that province; and, upon Emir-Jemla's decease, was transferred to the government of Bengal, appointed general of the army in that kingdom, and elevated to the

rank of Mir-ul-omrah, which had become vacant by the death of Jemla.

I owe it to Shaista's reputation to relate the important enterprise in which he was engaged, soon after his arrival in Bengal; an enterprise rendered the more interesting by the fact that it was never undertaken by his great predecessor, for reasons which remain unknown. The narrative will elucidate the past and present state of the kingdoms of Bengal and Arracan, which have hitherto been left in much obscurity, and will throw light on other circumstances which are deserving of attention.

To comprehend the nature of the expedition meditated by Shaista, and form a correct idea of the occurrences in the Gulf of Bengal, it should be mentioned that the kingdom of Arracan, or Mug, has contained, during many years, several Portuguese settlers, a great number of Christian slaves, or half-cast Portuguese, and other Europeans collected from various parts of the world. That kingdom was the place of retreat for fugitives from Goa, Ceylon, Cochin, Malacca and other settlements in India, held formerly by the Portuguese; and no persons were better received than those who had deserted their monasteries, married two or three wives, or committed other great crimes. These people were Christians only in name; the lives led by them in Arracan were most detestable, massacring or poisoning one another without compunction

or remorse, and sometimes assassinating even their priests, who, to confess the truth, were too often no better than their murderers.

The king of Arracan, who lived in perpetual dread of the Mogul, kept these foreigners, as a species of advanced guard, for the protection of his frontier, permitting them to occupy a sea-port called Chittagong, and making them grants of land. As they were unawed and unrestrained by the government, it was not surprising that these runagates pursued no other trade than that of rapine and piracy. They scoured the neighbouring seas in light gallies, called galliasses, entered the numerous arms and canals of the Ganges, ravaged the islands of Lower Bengal, and, often penetrating forty or fifty leagues up the country, surprised and carried away the entire population of villages on market days, and at times when the inhabitants were assembled for the celebration of a marriage, or some other festival. The marauders made slaves of their unhappy captives, and burnt whatever could not be removed. It is owing to these repeated depredations that we see so many fine islands in the mouth of the Ganges, formerly thickly peopled, now entirely deserted by human beings, and become the desolate receptacles of tigers, and other wild beasts.

Their treatment of the slaves thus obtained was most cruel; and they had the audacity to offer for sale, in the places which they had but recently ravaged, the aged people whom they could turn

to no better account. It was usual to see young persons, who had saved themselves by timely flight, endeavouring to-day to redeem the parent who had been made captive yesterday. Those who were not disabled by age, the pirates either kept in their service, training them up to the love of robbery and practice of assassination; or sold to the Portuguese of Goa, Ceylon, St. Thomas, and other places. Even the Portuguese of Hoogly, in Bengal, purchased without scruple these wretched captives, and the horrid traffic was transacted in the vicinity of the island of Galles, near Cape das Palmas. The pirates, by a mutual understanding, waited for the arrival of the Portuguese, who bought whole cargoes at a cheap rate; and it is lamentable to reflect that other Europeans, since the decline of the Portuguese power, have pursued the same flagitious commerce with the pirates of Chittagong, who boast that they convert more Hindoos to Christianity in a twelvemonth, than all the missionaries in India do in ten years. A strange mode this of propagating our holy religion by the constant violation of its most sacred precepts, and by the open contempt and defiance of its most awful sanctions!

The Portuguese established themselves at Hoogly under the auspices of Jehan-Guire, the grandfather of Aureng-Zêbe. That prince was free from all prejudice against Christians, and hoped to reap great benefit from their commerce.

The new settlers also engaged to keep the gulf of Bengal clear of pirates.

Shah-Jehan, a more rigid muselman than his father, visited the Portuguese at Hoogly with a terrible punishment. They provoked his displeasure by the encouragement afforded to the depredators of Arracan, and by their refusal to release the numerous slaves in their service, who had all of them been subjects of the Mogul. He first exacted, by threats or persuasion, large sums of money from the Portuguese, and when they refused to comply with his ultimate demands, he besieged and took possession of the town, and commanded that the whole population should be transferred as slaves to Agra.

The misery of these people is unparalleled in the history of modern times: it nearly resembled the grievous captivity of Babylon; for even the children, priests, and monks shared the universal doom. The handsome women, as well married as single, became inmates of the seraglio; those of a more advanced age, or of inferior beauty, were distributed among the omrahs; little children underwent the rite of circumcision, and were made pages; and the men of adult age, allured for the most part, by fair promises, or terrified by the daily threat of throwing them under the elephant's feet, renounced the Christian faith. Some of the monks, however, remained faithful to their creed, and were conveyed to Goa, and other Portuguese settlements, by the kind exertions of the Jesuits and

missionaries at Agra, who, notwithstanding all this calamity, continued in their dwelling, and were enabled to accomplish their benevolent purpose by the powerful aid of money, and the warm intercession of their friends.

Before the catastrophe at Hoogly, the missionaries had not escaped the resentment of Shah-Jehan: he ordered the large and handsome church at Agra, which, together with one at Lahore, had been erected during the reign of Jehan-Guire, to be demolished. A high steeple stood upon this church, with a bell whose sound was heard in every part of the city.

Some time before the capture of Hoogly, the pirates made a formal offer to the viceroy of Goa, to deliver the whole kingdom of Arracan into his hands. Bastian Consalve was then chief of the pirates, and so celebrated and powerful was he, that he married the king of Arracan's daughter. It is said that the viceroy was too arrogant and envious to listen to this proposal, and felt unwilling that the king of Portugal should be indebted to a man of low origin for so important an acquisition. There was nothing, however, in the proposal to excite surprise; being consonant with the general conduct of the Portuguese in Japan, Pegu, Ethiopia, and other places. The decay of their power in India is fairly ascribable to their misdeeds and may be considered, as they candidly allow, a proof of the divine displeasure. Formerly their name was a tower of strength; all the Indian princes

courted their friendship, and the Portuguese were distinguished for courage, generosity, zeal for religion, immensity of wealth, and the splendour of their exploits: but they were not then, like the Portuguese of the present day, addicted to every vice, and to every low and grovelling enjoyment.*

The pirates, about the time of which I am speaking, made themselves masters of the island of Sondiva, an advantageous post, commanding part of the mouth of the Ganges. On this spot, the notorious Fra Joan, an Augustine monk, reigned, as a petty sovereign, during many years; having contrived, by what means is unknown, to rid himself of the governor of the island.

These also are the identical freebooters who, as we have seen, repaired in their galliasses to Dacca, for the purpose of conveying Sultan Sujah to Arracan. They found means of opening some of his chests, and robbing him of many precious stones, which were offered secretly for sale at Arracan and disposed of for a mere trifle. The diamonds all got into the hands of the Dutch and other Europeans, who easily persuaded the ignorant thieves that the stones were soft, and consequently of no real and intrinsic value.

I have said enough to give an idea of the trouble, vexation and expence, to which the Mogul was for many years exposed by the unjust

* See note F at the end of the volume.

and violent proceedings of the pirates established in Arracan. He had always been under the necessity of guarding the inlets of the kingdom of Bengal, of keeping large bodies of troops and a fleet of galliasses on the alert. All these precautions, however, did not prevent the ravaging of his territories; the pirates were become so bold and skilful that with four or five galliasses they would attack, and generally capture or destroy, fourteen or fifteen of the Mogul's galleys.

The deliverance of Bengal from the cruel and incessant devastations of these barbarians was the immediate object of the expedition contemplated by Shaista-Khan upon his appointment to the government of that kingdom. But he had an ulterior design,—that of attacking the king of Arracan, and punishing him for his cruelty to Sultan Sujah and family. Aureng-Zêbe is determined to avenge the murder of those illustrious personages, and, by a single example, to teach his neighbours, that princes of his blood, in all situations and under all circumstances, must be treated with humanity and reverence.

The governor of Bengal has accomplished his first plan with consummate address. It was scarcely practicable to march an army into the kingdom of Arracan owing to the great number of rivers and canals that intersect the frontiers; and the naval superiority of the pirates rendered it still more difficult to transport an invading force by sea. It therefore occurred to Shaista to apply

to the Dutch for their co-operation, and with this view he sent an envoy to Batavia, with power to negociate, on certain conditions, with the general commandant of that colony, for the joint occupation of the kingdom of Arracan; in the same manner as Shah-Abas treated formerly with the English in regard to Ormuz.

The governor of Batavia was easily persuaded to enter into a scheme that offered an opportunity of still further depressing the Portuguese influence in India, and from the success of which the Dutch company would derive important advantages. He despatched two ships of war to Bengal for the purpose of facilitating the conveyance of the Mogul's troops to Chittagong; but Shaista, in the mean time, had collected a large number of galliasses and other vessels of considerable tonnage, and threatened to overwhelm the pirates in irremediable ruin if they did not immediately submit to the Mogul's authority. "Aureng-Zêbe is fixed in the resolution," said he to them, "of chastising the king of Arracan, and a Dutch fleet, too powerful to be resisted, is near at hand. If you are wise, your personal safety and the care of your families will now engross all your attention; you will quit the service of the king of Arracan, and enter into that of Aureng-Zêbe. In Bengal you shall have as much land allotted as you may deem necessary, and your pay shall be double that which you at present receive."

The pirates about this period had assassinated

one of the king of Arracan's principal officers, and it is not known whether they were more struck with terror by the punishment awaiting them for that crime, or moved by the promises and threats contained in Shaista's communication. Certain it is, however, that these unworthy Portuguese were one day seized with so strange a panic as to embark in forty or fifty galliasses and sail over to Bengal, and they adopted this measure with so much precipitation that they had scarcely time to take their families and valuable effects on board.

Shaista received these extraordinary visitors with open arms; gave them large sums of money; provided the women and children with excellent accommodations in the town of Dacca, and after he had thus gained their confidence, the pirates evinced an eagerness to act in concert with the Mogul's troops, shared in the attack and capture of Sondiva, which island had fallen into the hands of the king of Arracan, and accompanied the Indian army from Sondiva to Chittagong. Meanwhile the two Dutch ships of war made their appearance, and Shaista having thanked the commanders for their kind intentions, informed them that he had now no need of their services. I saw the vessels in Bengal, and was in company with the officers, who considered the Indian's thanks a poor compensation for the violation of his engagements. In regard to the Portuguese, Shaista treats them, not perhaps as he ought, but

certainly as they deserve. He has drawn them from Chittagong; they and their families are in his power: an occasion for their services no longer exists; he considers it, therefore, quite unnecessary to fulfil a single promise. He suffers month after month to elapse without giving them any pay; declaring that they are traitors, in whom it is folly to confide; wretches, who have basely betrayed the prince whose bounty they had experienced.

In this manner has Shaista-Khan extinguished the power of the Portuguese in Chittagong; of those Portuguese who had depopulated and ruined the whole of Lower Bengal. Time will show whether his enterprise against the king of Arracan will be crowned with similar success.*

IV. Respecting the two sons of Aureng-Zêbe, Sultan Mahmud and Sultan Mauzum, the former is still confined in Gualior; but, if we are to believe the general report, without being made to drink poust, the beverage usually given to the inmates of that fortress, Sultan Mauzum appears to comport himself with his accustomed prudence and moderation, although the transaction I am about to relate is perhaps an evidence that this prince during the dangerous illness of his father

* Shaista-Khan assembled ten thousand horse and foot at Dacca, with the command of which he invested his son Ameid-Khan. With this force the capital of Chittagong (which contained twelve hundred and twenty pieces of cannon) was taken, and the whole province was annexed to the kingdom of Bengal.—*Dow.*

had carried on secret intrigues, or that the displeasure of Aureng-Zêbe was excited by some other circumstance unknown to the public. It may be, however, that, without any reference to the past, the king was only anxious to obtain a memorable proof both of his son's obedience and of his courage, when he commanded him, in a full assembly of omrahs, to kill a lion which had descended from the mountains and was then laying waste the surrounding country. The Grand Master of the Hunt ventured to hope that Sultan Mauzum might be permitted to avail himself of those capacious nets which are ordinarily made use of in so perilous a chase. "He shall attack the lion without nets," sternly replied the king, "When I was prince I thought not of such precautions." An order given in so decisive a tone could not be disobeyed. The prince declined not the fearful undertaking; he encountered and overcame the tremendous beast with the loss of only two or three men; some horses were mangled, and the wounded lion bounded on the head of the Sultan's elephant. Since this strange adventure Aureng-Zêbe has behaved to his son with the utmost affection, and has even raised him to the government of Deccan. It must be owned, however, that Sultan Mauzum is so limited in authority and circumscribed in pecuniary means, that he cannot occasion much uneasiness to his father.

V. The next personage I would recal to the recollection of my readers is Mohabet-Khan, the

governor of Cabul. He was induced at length to resign the government of that province, and Aureng-Zêbe generously refused to punish him, declaring that the life of such a soldier was invaluable, and that he deserved commendation for his fidelity to his benefactor Shah-Jehan. The king even nominated him governor of Guzerat, instead of Jesswint-Singh, who was sent to the seat of war in Deccan. It is true that a few costly presents may have disposed the Mogul's mind in Mohabet's favour; for besides what he gave to Rochinara-Begum, he sent the king fifteen or sixteen thousand golden rupees and a considerable number of Persian horses and camels.

The mention of Cabul reminds me of the adjacent kingdom of Candahar, at present tributary to Persia; to the subject of which I ought to devote one or two pages. Much ignorance prevails concerning that country, as well as on the political feeling which it creates between the governments of Persia and Hindostan. The name of the capital is also Candahar, which is the strong hold of this rich and fine kingdom. The desire of possessing the capital has been, for some ages, the cause of sanguinary wars between the Moguls and Persians. The great Acbar wrested it from the latter, and kept it during the remainder of his reign. Shah-Abas took the city from Jehan-Guire, the son of Acbar; and the treachery of the governor Ali Murdan-Khan, delivered it into the hands of Shah-Jehan, the son of Jehan-Guire.

Ali Murdan immediately placed himself under the protection of his new sovereign; he had many enemies in his own country, and was too prudent to obey the summons of the Persian monarch, who called upon him to give an account of his government.* Candahar was again besieged and captured by the son of Shah-Abas, and afterwards twice unsuccessfully attacked by Shah-Jehan. The first failure was owing to the bad conduct or the perfidy of the Persian omrahs in the Great Mogul's service, the most powerful noblemen of his court and strongly attached to their native country. They betrayed a shameful lukewarmness during the siege, refusing to follow the Rajah Roup who had already planted his standard on the wall nearest to the mountain. Aureng-Zêbe's jealousy occasioned the second failure. He would not storm the breach which the cannon of the English, Portuguese, Germans, and French, had rendered sufficiently practicable; because the enterprise had originated with Dara, at that time with his father in the city of Cabul, and he felt unwilling that his brother should have the credit of so valuable an acquisition. Shah-Jehan, a few years before the late civil war, seemed on the point of besieging Candahar for the third time, but was deterred from the enterprise by Emir-Jemla, who, as we have stated, advised the Mogul to send his army to the Deccan. Ali

* See note G at the end of the volume.

Murdan seconded with great earnestness the emir's arguments, and addressed the king in these extraordinary words :—"Your majesty will never succeed in taking Candahar, unless her gates be opened by such a traitor as myself; or unless you determine to exclude all Persians from the besieging army, and issue a proclamation promising entire freedom to the bazaars; that is, exempting them from the payment of any duty on provisions brought for the use of the army." A few years ago Aureng-Zêbe, following the example of his predecessors, made preparations for the attack of this celebrated city, being offended with the letter written by the king of Persia, or with the ungracious reception experienced by his ambassador, Tarbiet-Khan, at the Persian court: but he heard of the king's death, and abandoned the project; feeling reluctant, as he pretended, to act with hostility against a child just seated on the throne; although Shah-Soliman, who succeeded his father, cannot, I think, be less than five and twenty years of age.

VI. I would now say something of the warm partisans of Aureng-Zêbe, most of whom have been promoted to situations of high trust and dignity. His uncle Shaista-Khan was placed, as we have mentioned, in the government of Deccan, and at the head of the army acting in that province; subsequently this nobleman was made governor of Bengal. Mir-Khan obtained the government of Cabul; Calil-ullah-Khan that of Lahore;

Mir-baba, of Allahabâd; Lasker-Khan, of Patna; and the son of that Allah-verdi-Khan, whose advice cost Sultan Sujah the battle of Kidgwâ, was made governor of Sindy. Fazel-Khan, whose counsels and address had been essentially useful to Aureng-Zêbe, was invested with the office of Kane-Saman, or Grand Chamberlain of the royal household. Danechmend-Khan was appointed governor of Delhi; and, in consideration of his studious habits, and the time which he necessarily devotes to the affairs of the foreign department, he is exempted from the ancient ceremony of repairing twice a-day to the assembly, for the purpose of saluting the king; the omission of which subjects other omrahs to a pecuniary penalty. To Dianât-Khan, Aureng-Zêbe has entrusted the government of Kashmire, a little kingdom nearly inaccessible, and considered the terrestrial paradise of India. Acbar became possessed of that delightful country by stratagem. It boasts of authentic histories, in its own vernacular tongue, containing an interesting account of a long succession of ancient kings; sometimes so powerful as to have reduced to subjection the whole of Hindostan, as far as the island of Ceylon. Of these histories Jehan-Guire procured an abridgment to be made in the Persian language; and of this I procured a copy.—It is proper to mention in this place that Aureng-Zêbe cashiered Nejabat-Khan, who greatly distinguished himself in the battles of Samonguer and Kidgwâ; but he

seems to have brought that disgrace upon himself by continually dwelling upon the services he had rendered the king. As to those infamous individuals, Jihon-Khan and Nazier, the well-deserved fate of the former has been recounted; but what subsequently became of Nazier is not ascertained.

In regard to Jesswint-Singh and Joy-Singh, there is some obscurity which I shall endeavour to clear. A revolt had taken place, headed by a pagan of Visiapour, who made himself master of several important fortresses and a few sea-ports belonging to the king of that country. The name of this bold adventurer is Sevajee, or the lord Seva. He is vigilant, enterprising and wholly regardless of personal safety. Shaista-Khan, when in the Deccan, found in him an enemy more formidable than the king of Visiapour at the head of his whole army and joined by those rajahs who usually unite with that prince for their common defence. Some idea may be formed of Sevajee's intrepidity by his attempt to seize Shaista's person, together with all his treasures, in the midst of his troops, and surrounded by the walls of Aurengabâd. Attended by a few soldiers he one night penetrated into Shaista's apartment, and would have succeeded in his object had he remained undetected a short time longer. Shaista was severely wounded, and his son was killed in the act of drawing his sword. Sevajee soon engaged in another daring

expedition, which proved more successful. Placing himself at the head of two or three thousand men, the flower of his army, he silently withdrew from his camp, and pretended during the march to be a rajah going to the Mogul's court. When within a short distance of Surat, he met the Grand Provost of the country, on whom he imposed the belief that he intended to prosecute his journey without entering the town: but the plunder of that famous and wealthy port was the principal object of the expedition; he rushed into the place sword in hand, and remained nearly three days, torturing the population to compel a discovery of their concealed riches. Burning what he could not take away, Sevajee returned without the least opposition, laden with gold and silver to the amount of several millions; with pearls, silken stuffs, fine linens, and a variety of other costly merchandize. A secret understanding, it was suspected, existed between Jesswint-Singh and Sevajee, and the former was supposed to have been accessary to the attempt on Shaista as well as to the attack of Surat. The rajah was therefore recalled from the Deccan, but instead of going to Delhi, he returned to his own territories.

I forgot to mention that during the pillage of Surat, Sevajee, the holy Sevajee! respected the habitation of the Reverend Father Ambrose, the capuchin missionary. "The Franguis padrys are good men," he said, "and shall not be molested."

He spared also the house of Delale, the Dutch broker, a pagan, because he enjoyed the reputation of being charitable. The dwellings of the English and Dutch likewise escaped Sevajee's visits, not in consequence of any reverential feeling on his part, but because those people had displayed a great deal of resolution, and defended themselves well. The English especially, assisted by the crews of their vessels, performed wonders, and saved not only their own houses but those of their neighbours. The pertinacity of a Jew, a native of Constantinople, astonished every body. Sevajee knew that he was in possession of most valuable rubies, which he intended to sell to Aureng-Zêbe; but he persevered in stoutly denying the fact, although three times placed on his knees to receive the stroke of a sword flourished over his head. This conduct was worthy of a Jew, whose love of money generally exceeds his love of life.

Aureng-Zêbe prevailed with Joy-Singh to take the command of the army in the Deccan, attended by Sultan Mauzum, who, however, was not invested with any authority. The rajah's first operation was vigorously to attack Sevajee's principal fortress; but he had recourse, at the same time, to his favourite art, negociation, which he brought to a favourable issue, as the place surrendered by capitulation long before it was reduced to extremity. Sevajee having consented to make common cause with the Mogul against

Visiapour, Aureng-Zêbe proclaimed him a rajah, took him under his protection, and granted an omrah's pension to his son. Some time afterward, the king meditating a war against Persia, wrote to Sevajee in such kind and flattering terms, and extolled his generosity, talents and conduct so highly, as to induce him to meet the Mogul at Delhi, Joy-Singh having plighted his faith for the chieftain's security. Shaista's wife happened to be then at court, and never ceased to urge the arrest of a man who had killed her son, wounded her husband, and sacked Surat. The result was that Sevajee, observing that his tents were watched by three or four omrahs, effected his escape in disguise under favour of night. This circumstance caused great uneasiness in the palace, and Joy-Singh's eldest son, being strongly suspected of having assisted Sevajee in his flight, was forbidden to appear at court. Aureng-Zêbe felt, or seemed to feel, equally irritated against the father and the son, and Joy-Singh apprehending that he might avail himself of this pretext to seize his territories, abandoned his command in the Deccan and hastened to the defence of his dominions but he died on his arrival at Brampour. The kindness shewn by the Mogul to the rajah's son, when apprized of this melancholy vent; his tender condolences, and the grant to him of the pension enjoyed by the father, confirm many persons in the opinion that Sevajee did not escape without the connivance of Aureng-Zêbe

himself. His presence at court must indeed have greatly embarrased the king, since the hatred of the women was most fierce and rancorous against him; they considered him as a monster who had imbrued his hands in the blood of friends and kinsmen.

But here let us take a cursory review of the history of Deccan, a kingdom that, during more than forty years, has constantly been the theatre of war, and owing to which the Mogul is so frequently embroiled with the king of Golconda, the king of Visiapour, and several other less powerful sovereigns. The nature of the quarrels in that part of Hindostan cannot be well understood while we remain ignorant of the chief occurrences and have only an imperfect knowledge of the condition of the princes by whom the country is governed.

Two centuries have scarcely elapsed since the great peninsula of India, stretching from the Gulf of Cambay on the west to the Gulf of Bengal near Jagganat on the east, and extending southerly to Cape Comorin, was, with the exception perhaps of a few mountainous tracts, under the domination of one arbitrary despot. The indiscretion of rajah, or king, Ram-ras, the last prince under whom it was united, caused the dismemberment of this vast monarchy, and this is the reason why it is now divided among many sovereigns professing different religions. Ram-ras had three Georgian slaves in his service, whom he distin-

guished by every mark of favour, and at length nominated to the government of three considerable districts. One was appointed governor of nearly the whole of the territory in the Deccan which is now in the possession of the Mogul; Dowlatabad was the capital of that government, which extended from Bider, Paranda and Surat to Nirbidda. The territory now forming the kingdom of Visiapour was the portion of the second favourite; and the third obtained the country comprehended in the present kingdom of Golconda. These three slaves became extremely rich and powerful, and as they professed the muhammedan faith and declared themselves of the Schias sect, which is that of the Persians, they received the countenance and support of a great number of Moguls in the service of Ram-ras. They could not, even if so disposed, have embraced the religion of the Hindoos, because the pagans of India admit no stranger to the participation of their mysteries. A rebellion, in which the three Georgian slaves united, terminated in the murder of Ram-ras, after which they returned to their respective governments, and usurped the title of shah, or king. Ram-ras's children, incapable of contending with these men, remained quietly in the country known commonly by the name of the Carnatic, and called in our charts Bisnaguer, where their posterity are rajahs to this day. The remainder of the Peninsula was split at the same time into all those smaller states still

existing, governed by rajahs, naiques, or petty kings. While the successors of the three usurpers preserved a good understanding with each other, they were able to defend their kingdoms, and to maintain serious wars against the Moguls; but when the seeds of jealousy were sown among them, and they chose to act as independent sovereigns who stood in no need of foreign assistance, they experienced the fatal effects of disunion. Thirty-five or forty years ago, the Mogul availing himself of their differences, invaded the dominions of Nejam-Shah, or king Nejam, the fifth or sixth in succession from the slave and made himself master of the whole country. Nejam died a prisoner in Dowlatabad, his former capital.

Since that period, the kings of Golconda have been preserved from invasion, not in consequence of their great strength, but of the employment given to the Mogul by the two sister kingdoms, and of the necessity he was under to capture their strong places, such as Amber, Paranda and Bider, before Golconda could be prudently attacked. The safety of those kings may also be ascribed to the wisdom of their policy. Possessing great wealth, they have always secretly supplied the monarch of Visiapour with money, to enable him to defend his country; so that whenever the latter is threatened, the king of Golconda invariably marches an army to the frontiers, to shew the Mogul not only that preparations are made for internal defence, but that an ally is at hand to

assist Visiapour, if driven to extremity. It appears likewise that the government of Golconda employs large sums as bribes to the generals of the Mogul's army, who therefore constantly give it as their opinion that Visiapour ought to be attacked rather than Golconda, on account of its greater proximity to Dowlatabad. Indeed, after the convention concluded, as we have seen, between Aureng-Zêbe and the present king of Golconda, the former has no great inducement to march troops into that kingdom, which he probably considers as his own. It has been long tributary to the Mogul, to whom it presents annually a considerable quantity of hard cash, home manufactured articles of exquisite workmanship, and elephants imported from Pegu, Siam and Ceylon. There is now no hostile fortress between Dowlatabad and Golconda; and Aureng-Zêbe feels confident, therefore, that a single campaign would suffice to conquer the country. In my own opinion, nothing has restrained him from attempting that conquest, but the apprehension of having the Deccan overrun by the king of Visiapour, who knows that if he permits his neighbour to fall, his own destruction must be the necessary consequence.

From what I have said, some idea may be formed of the present state of the king of Golconda in relation to the Mogul. There can be no doubt that his power is held by a most uncertain tenure. Since the nefarious transaction in Golconda, planned by Emir-Jemla and executed by Aureng-

Zêbe, the king has lost all mental energy, and has ceased to hold the reins of government. He never appears in public to give audience and administer justice according to the custom of the country; nor does he venture outside the walls of the fortress of Golconda. Confusion and misrule are the natural and unavoidable consequences of this state of things. The grandees, totally disregarding the commands of a monarch, for whom they no longer feel either affection or respect, exercise a disgusting tyranny; and the people, impatient to throw off the galling yoke, would gladly submit to the more equitable government of Aureng-Zêbe.

I shall advert to five or six facts that prove the low state of degradation to which this wretched king is reduced.

I. When I visited Golconda, in the year 1667, an ambassador extraordinary arrived from Aureng-Zêbe, for the purpose of declaring war, unless the king supplied the Mogul with ten thousand cavalry to act against Visiapour. This force was not indeed granted; but, what pleased Aureng-Zêbe still better, as much money was given as is considered sufficient for the maintenance of such a body of cavalry. The king paid extravagant honours to this ambassador and loaded him with valuable presents, both for himself and the Mogul his master.

II. Aureng-Zêbe's ordinary ambassador at the court of Golconda issues his commands, grants passports, menaces and ill-treats the people, and

in short, speaks and acts with the uncontrolled authority of an absolute sovereign.

III. Emir-Jemla's son, Mahmet-Emir-Khan, although nothing more than one of Aureng-Zêbe's omrahs, is so much respected in Golconda, that the tapta, his agent or broker at Masulipatam, acts as master of the port. He buys and sells, admits and clears out cargoes, free of every impost and without any person's intervention. So boundless was the father's influence formerly in this country, that it has descended to the son as a matter of right or necessity.

IV. Sometimes the Dutch presume to lay an embargo on all the Golconda merchant-vessels in the port of Masulipatam; nor will they suffer them to depart until the king comply with their demands. I have known them even protest against the king because the governor of Masulipatam prevented them from taking forcible possession of an English ship in the port, by arming the whole population, threatening to burn the Dutch factory, and to put all these insolent foreigners to the sword.

V. Another symptom of decay in this kingdom is the debased state of the current coin; which is extremely prejudicial to the commerce of the country.

VI. A sixth instance I would adduce of the fallen power of the king of Golconda, is that the Portuguese, wretched, poor and despised as they are become, scruple not to menace him with war,

and with the capture and pillage of Masulipatam and other towns if he refuse to cede St. Thomas, a place which these same Portuguese, a few years ago, voluntarily resigned into his hands to avoid the disgrace of yielding it to the superior power of the Dutch.

Many intelligent persons, however, assured me, when I was in Golconda, that the king is by no means devoid of understanding; that this appearance of weakness and indecision and of indifference to the affairs of government, is assumed for the purpose of deceiving his enemies; that he has a son concealed from the public eye, of an ardent and aspiring spirit, whom he intends to place on the throne at a favourable juncture, and then to violate his treaty with Aureng-Zêbe. Leaving it to time to decide upon the soundness of these opinions, we shall proceed to say a few words about Visiapour.

That country, though it has to contend frequently with the Mogul, still preserves the name of an independent kingdom. The truth is, that the generals employed against Visiapour, like commanders employed in every other service, are delighted to be at the head of an army, ruling at a distance from the court with the authority of kings. They conduct every operation, therefore, with languor, and avail themselves of any pretext for the prolongation of war which is alike the source of their emolument and dignity. It is become a proverbial saying in Hindostan, that

the Deccan is the Indian soldier's bread and support. It should also be observed, that the kingdom of Visiapour abounds with almost impregnable fortresses in mountainous situations, and that the country on the side of the Great Mogul's territories is of a peculiarly difficult access, owing to the scarcity both of forage and of good wholesome water. The capital is extremely strong; situated in an arid and sterile soil, and pure and palatable water is found only within the gates.

Visiapour, however, is verging toward dissolution. The Mogul has made himself master of Paranda, the key of the kingdom; of Bider, a strong and handsome town, and of other important places. The death of the king without male issue must also operate unfavourably on the future concerns of this country. The throne is filled by a young man, educated, and adopted as her son, by the queen, sister of the king of Golconda, who, by the by, has been ill requited for her kindness. She returned recently from Mecca, and experienced a cold and insulting reception; the young monarch pretending that her conduct on board the Dutch vessel which conveyed her to Mokha, was unbecoming both her sex and rank. It is even said that she was criminally connected with two or three of the crew, who abandoned the vessel at Mokha for the purpose of accompanying the queen to Mecca.

Sevajee, the heathen leader lately spoken of,

profiting by the distracted state of the kingdom, has seized upon many strong holds, situated for the most part in the mountains. This man is exercising all the powers of an independent sovereign; laughs at the threats both of the Mogul and of the king at Visiapour; makes frequent incursions, and ravages the country on every side, from Surat to the gates of Goa. Yet it cannot be doubted that, notwithstanding the deep wounds which from time to time he inflicts upon Visiapour, the kingdom finds in this daring chieftain a seasonable and powerful coadjutor. He distracts the attention of Aureng-Zêbe by his bold and never-ceasing enterprises, and affords so much employment to the Indian armies, that the Mogul cannot find the opportunity of achieving the conquest of Visiapour. How to put down Sevajee is become the object of chief importance. We have seen his success at Surat; he afterwards captured the Portuguese settlement of Bardes, an island contiguous to Goa.

I was still at Golconda when I heard of Shah-Jehan's death. Aureng-Zêbe seemed much affected by the event, and discovered all the marks of grief which a son can express for the loss of his father. He set out immediately for Agra, where Begum-Saheb received him with distinguished honour. She hung the mosque with tapestries of rich brocades, and in the same manner decorated the place where the Mogul intended to alight before he entered the fortress. On arriving at the

women's apartment in the seraglio, the princess presented him with a large golden basin, full of precious stones—her own jewels, and those which belonged to Shah-Jehan. Moved by the magnificence of his reception, and the affectionate protestations of his sister, Aureng-Zêbe forgave her former conduct and has since treated her with kindness and liberality.

I have now brought this history to a close. My readers have no doubt condemned the means by which the reigning Mogul attained the summit of power. Those means were indeed unjust and cruel; but it is not perhaps fair to judge him by the rigid rules which we apply to the character of European princes. In our quarter of the globe, the succession to the crown is settled in favour of the eldest by wise and fixed laws; but in Hindostan the right of governing is usually disputed by all the sons of the deceased monarch, each of whom is reduced to the cruel alternative of sacrificing his brothers, that he himself may reign, or of suffering his own life to be forfeited for the security and stability of the dominion of another. Yet even those who may maintain that the circumstances of country, birth and education afford no palliation of the conduct pursued by Aureng-Zebe, must admit that this prince is endowed with a versatile and rare genius, that he is a consummate statesman and a magnificent potentate.

A LETTER TO THE MINISTER OF STATE COLBERT; ON THE EXTENT OF HINDOSTAN; ON THE CIRCULATION OF GOLD AND SILVER, WHICH ARE FINALLY SWALLOWED UP IN THE COUNTRY; ON THE RICHES, STRENGTH, ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE; AND ON THE PRINCIPAL CAUSES OF THE DECLINE OF THE ASIATIC STATES.

In Asia, my lord, the great are never approached empty-handed. When I had the honour to kiss the great Mogul's vest, I presented him with eight rupees, as a mark of respect; and I made a tender of a knife-case, a fork and a pen-knife mounted in amber to the illustrious Fazel-Khan,* a minister charged with the weightiest concerns of the empire, on whose decision depended the amount of my salary as physician. Though I presume not to introduce new customs into France, yet I cannot be expected, so soon after my return from Hindostan, to lose all remembrance of the practice just mentioned, and hope I shall be pardoned for hesitating to appear in the presence of a king who inspires me with very different feelings than did Aureng-Zêbe; or even in that of his minister, deserving my respect much more than Fazel-Khan, without some small offering, which may derive value from its novelty, if not from the hand that bestows it. The late revolution in India, so full of extraordinary events, may be deemed

* The perfect lord.

worthy the attention of our great monarch; and this letter, considering the importance of its matter, may not be unsuitable to the rank you bear in his majesty's council. It seems, indeed, addressed with propriety to one whose measures have so admirably restored order in many departments which, before my departure from France, I feared were irremediably confused; to one who has evinced so much anxiety to make known to the ends of the earth the character of our sovereign, and of what the French people are capable in the execution of whatever you project for their benefit and glory.

It was in Hindostan, my lord, whither your fame extends, and from which country I am lately returned after an absence of twelve years, that I first became acquainted with the happiness of France, and with the share which you have had in promoting it, by your unwearied attention and brilliant abilities. This is a theme on which I could fondly dwell; but why should I expatiate on facts already and universally admitted, when my present purpose is to treat of those which are new and unknown? It will be more agreeable to you if I proceed, according to my promise, to furnish such materials, as may enable your lordship to form some idea of the actual state of India.

The maps of Asia point out the mighty extent of the Great Mogul's empire, known commonly by the name of the Indies, or Hindostan. I have

not measured it with mathematical exactness; but judging from the ordinary rate of travelling, and considering that it is a journey of three months from the frontier of the kingdom of Golconda to Hazni, or rather beyond it, near to Candahar, which is the first town in Persia, the distance between those two extreme points cannot be less than five hundred French leagues, or five times as far as from Paris to Lyons.

It is important to observe, that of this vast tract of country, a large portion is extremely fertile; the large kingdom of Bengal, for instance, surpassing Egypt itself, not only in the production of rice, corn, and other necessaries of life, but of innumerable articles of commerce which are not cultivated in Egypt; such as silks, cotton, and indigo. There are also many parts of India, where the population is sufficiently abundant, and the land pretty well tilled; and where the artisan, although naturally indolent, is yet reduced to the necessity of attending to his work, in manufacturing carpets, brocades, embroideries, gold and silver cloths, and the various sorts of silk and cotton goods, which are used in the country or exported abroad.

It should not escape notice that gold and silver, after circulating in every other quarter of the globe, come at length to be absorbed in Hindostan. Of the quantity drawn from America, and dispersed among the different European states, a part finds its way through various

channels, to Turkey for the payment of commodities imported from that country; and a part passes into Persia, by way of Smyrna, for the silks laden at that port. Turkey cannot dispense with the coffee, which she receives from Yemen, or Arabia Felix; and the productions of India, are equally necessary to Turkey, Yemen, and Persia. Thus it happens that these countries are under the necessity of sending a portion of their gold and silver to Mokha, on the Red Sea, near Babelmandel; to Bassora, at the top of the Persian Gulf; and to Bunder Abas, or Gombroon, near Ormuz; which gold and silver are exported to Hindostan by the vessels that arrive every year, in the monsoon season, at those three celebrated ports, laden with goods from that country. Let it also be borne in mind that all the vessels, whether Indian, Dutch, English, or Portuguese, which every year carry cargoes of Indian merchandize to Pegu, Tanneserim, Siam, Ceylon, Acheen, Macassar, the Maldives, Mosambique, and other places, bring back to Hindostan from those countries, a large quantity of the precious metals, which share the fate of those brought from Mokha, Bassora, and Bunder Abas. And in regard to the gold and silver which the Dutch draw from the mines of Japan, a part is, sooner or later, introduced into Hindostan; and whatever is brought directly by sea, either from Portugal or from France, seldom leaves India, returns being made to Europe in merchandize.

I am aware it may be said, that Hindostan is in want of copper, cloves, nutmegs, cinnamon, elephants, and other things, with which she is supplied by the Dutch from Japan, Molucca, Ceylon, and Europe;—that she obtains lead from abroad, in part from England; broad cloths and other articles from France;—that she is in need of a considerable number of foreign horses, receiving annually more than five and twenty thousand from Usbec, a great many from Persia by way of Candahar, and several from Ethiopia, Arabia and Persia, through the ports of Mokha, Bassora and Bunder Abas. It may also be observed that Hindostan consumes an immense quantity of fresh fruit from Samarcand, Bali, Bukharia, and Persia; such as melons, apples, pears and grapes, eaten at Delhi and purchased at a very high price nearly the whole winter;—and likewise dried fruit, such as almonds, pistachio, and hazel nuts, plums, apricots and raisins, which may be procured the whole year round;—that she imports a small sea shell from the Maldives, used in Bengal, and other places, as a species of small money; ambergris from the Maldives and Mosambique; rhinoceros' horns, elephants' teeth, and slaves from Ethiopia; musk and porcelain from China, and pearls from Beharan and Tuticorin, near Ceylon.

The importation of all these articles into Hindostan does not, however, occasion the export of gold and silver; because the merchants who

bring them, find it advantageous to take back, in exchange, the productions of the country.

Supplying India with articles of foreign growth or manufacture, does not, therefore, prevent that country from absorbing within itself a large portion of the gold and silver of the world, admitted through a variety of channels, while there is scarcely an opening for its return.

It should also be recollected, that the Great Mogul constitutes himself heir of all the omrahs, or lords, and likewise of the manseb-dars, or inferior lords, who are in his pay; and, what is of the utmost importance, that he is proprietor of every acre of land in the kingdom, excepting, perhaps, some houses and gardens which he sometimes permits his subjects to buy, sell and otherwise dispose of.

I think I have shewn that the precious metals must abound in Hindostan, although the country be destitute of mines; and that the Great Mogul, lord and master of the greater part, must necessarily be in the receipt of an immense revenue, and possess incalculable wealth.

But there are many circumstances to be considered, as forming a counterpoise to these riches.

I. Of the vast tracts of country constituting the empire of Hindostan, many are little more than sand, or barren mountains, badly cultivated, and thinly peopled; and even a considerable portion of the good land remains untilled from want of labourers; many of whom perish in

consequence of the bad treatment they experience from the governors. These poor people, when incapable of discharging the demands of their rapacious lords, are not only often deprived of the means of subsistence, but are bereft of their children, who are carried away as slaves. Thus it happens that many of the peasantry, driven to despair by so execrable a tyranny, abandon the country, and seek a more tolerable mode of existence, either in the towns, or camps; as porters, carriers of water, or cavalry servants. Sometimes they fly to the territories of a rajah, because there they find less oppression, and are allowed a greater degree of comfort.

II. The empire of the Great Mogul comprehends several nations, over which he is not absolute master. Most of them still retain their own peculiar chiefs or sovereigns, who obey the Mogul or pay him tribute only for compulsion. In many instances this tribute is of trifling amount; in others, none is paid; and I shall adduce instances of nations which, instead of paying, receive tribute.

The petty sovereignties bordering the Persian frontiers, for example, seldom pay tribute either to the Mogul or to the king of Persia. Nor can the former be said to receive any thing considerable from the people of Baloochistan, Afghanistan, and other mountaineers, who indeed seem to feel nearly independent of him, as was proved by their conduct when the Mogul marched from Attock

on the Indus to Cabul; for the purpose of besieging Candahar. By stopping the supply of water from the mountains, and preventing its descent into the fields contiguous to the public road, they completely arrested the army on its march, until the mountaineers received from the Mogul the presents which they had solicited in the way of alms.

The Patans also are an intractable race.* They are muhammedans, who formerly inhabited a country in the vicinity of the Ganges, toward Bengal. Before the invasion of India by the Moguls, the Patans had rendered themselves formidable in several places. Their power was felt principally at Delhi, many of the neighbouring rajahs being their tributaries. Even the menials and carriers of water belonging to that nation, are high spirited and warlike. "If it be not so, may I never ascend the throne of Delhi," is the usual phraseology of a Patan, when wishing to enforce the truth of any assertion. They hold the Indians, both pagans and Moguls, in the utmost contempt; and recollecting the consideration in which they were formerly held in India, they mortally hate the Moguls, by whom their fathers were dispossessed of great principalities, and driven to the mountains far from Delhi and Agra. In these mountains some Patans established themselves as

* The race of Afghans are commonly known in India by the name of Patans, the meaning or etymology of which designation does not seem to be ascertained.—*Translator.*

petty sovereigns, or rajahs; but without any great power.

The king of Visiapour, so far from paying tribute to the Mogul, is engaged in perpetual war with him, and contrives to defend his dominions. He owes his preservation less to the strength of his arms than to many peculiar circumstances. His kingdom is at a great distance from Agra and Delhi, the Mogul's usual places of residence; the capital city, called also Visiapour, is strong, and not easily accessible to an invading army, because of the bad water and scarcity of forage in the surrounding country; and several rajahs for the sake of mutual security join him, when attacked, with their forces. The celebrated Sevajee not long ago made a seasonable diversion in his favour, by plundering and burning the rich sea-port of Surat.

There is again the wealthy and powerful king of Golconda, who secretly supplies the king of Visiapour with money, and constantly keeps an army on the frontiers, with the double object of defending his own territories and aiding Visiapour, in the event of that country being closely pressed.

Finally, among those not paying tribute may be numbered more than a hundred rajahs, or pagan sovereigns of considerable strength, dispersed over the whole empire, some near and some at a distance from Agra and Delhi. Fifteen or

sixteen of these rajahs are rich and formidable, particularly Rana, formerly considered emperor of the rajahs, and supposed to be descended from king Porus, Joy-Singh and Jesswint-Singh. If these three chose to enter into an offensive league, they would prove dangerous opponents to the Mogul, each of them having at all times the means of taking the field with twenty thousand cavalry; better than any that could be opposed to them. These horsemen are called rajaputs, or sons of rajahs. Their military occupation descends from father to son; and every man receives a grant of land, on condition that he be always prepared to mount his horse and follow the rajah, whither he shall command. These men endure a great deal of fatigue, and require only discipline to become excellent soldiers.

III. It is material to remark that the Great Mogul is a muhammedan, of the same sect as the Sounnys, who, believing with the Turks that Osman was the true successor of Muhammed, are distinguished by the name of Osmanlees. The majority of his courtiers, however, being Persians, are of the party known by the appellation of Schias, believers in the real succession of Ali. Moreover, the Great Mogul is a foreigner in Hindostan, a descendant of Tamerlane, chief of those Moguls from Tartary, who in the year 1401 overran and conquered India. Consequently he finds himself in an hostile country, or nearly so; a country containing hundreds of pagans to one

Mogul, or even to one muhammedan. To maintain himself in such a country, in the midst of domestic and powerful enemies, and to be always prepared against any hostile movement on the side of Persia or Usbec, he is under the necessity of keeping up numerous armies, even in time of peace. These armies are composed either of natives, such as rajaputs and patans, or of genuine Moguls and people who, though less esteemed, are called Moguls because white men, foreigners, and muhammedans. The court itself does not now consist, as originally, of real Moguls; but is a medley of Usbecs, Persians, Arabs and Turks, or descendants from all these people; known, as I said before, by the general appellation of Moguls. It should be added, however, that children of the third or fourth generation, who have the brown complexion, and the languid manner of the native Indians, are held in much less respect than new comers, and are seldom invested with official situations: they consider themselves happy if permitted to serve as private soldiers in the infantry or cavalry.—But it is time to give your lordship some idea of the armies of the Great Mogul, in order that you may judge, by the vast expenditure to which they subject him, what are really his effective means and resources.

I shall first speak of the native force, which he cannot avoid keeping in pay.

Under this head are comprehended the raja-

puts of Joy-Singh and of Jesswint-Singh; to whom, and to several other rajahs, the Mogul grants large sums for the service of a certain number of their rajaputs, to be kept always ready and at his disposal. Rajahs bear an equal rank with the foreign or muhammedan omrahs, whether employed in the army which the king retains at all times near his person, or in those stationed in the provinces. They are also generally subjected to the same regulations as the omrahs, even to mounting guard; with this difference, however, that the rajahs never mount within a fortress, but invariably without the walls, under their own tents, not enduring the idea of being confined during four and twenty hours, and always refusing to enter any fortress unless attended by rajaputs, men determined to sacrifice their lives for their leaders. This self-devotion has been sufficiently proved when attempts have been made to deal treacherously with a rajah.

There are many reasons why the Mogul is induced to retain rajahs in his service.

I. Rajaputs are not only excellent soldiers, but, as I have said, some rajahs can in any one day bring more than twenty thousand to the field.

II. They are necessary to keep in check such rajahs as are not in the Mogul's pay; to reduce to submission those who take up arms rather than pay tribute, or refuse to join the army when summoned by the king.

III. It enters into the king's policy to foment jealousy and discord among the rajahs, and by caressing and favouring some more than others, he often succeeds, when desirous of doing so, in kindling wars among them.

IV. They are always at hand to be employed against the Patans, or against any revolted omrah or governor.

V. Whenever the king of Golconda withholds his tribute, or evinces an inclination to defend the king of Visiapour or any neighbouring rajah whom the Mogul wishes to despoil or render tributary, rajahs are sent against him in preference to omrahs, who being for the most part Persians, profess the same religion, and belong to the same sect as the king of Golconda.

VI. But the Mogul never finds the rajahs more useful than when he is engaged in hostility with the Persians. His omrahs, as I have just remarked, are generally of that nation, and shudder at the idea of fighting against their natural king; especially because they acknowledge him as their imam, their caliph or sovereign pontiff, and the descendant of Ali; to bear arms against whom they therefore consider a great crime.

The Mogul is also compelled to engage Patans in his service by reasons very similar to those I have assigned for employing rajaputs.

In fine, he is reduced to the necessity of supporting those troops of foreigners, or Moguls, which we have noticed; and as they form the

principal force of the kingdom, and are maintained at an incredible expense, a detailed description of this force may not be unacceptable.

These troops, both cavalry and infantry, may be considered under two heads; one part as always near the Mogul's person; the other, as dispersed in the several provinces. In regard to the cavalry retained near the king, I shall speak, first of the omrahs, then of the manseb-dars, next of the rouzin-dars; and, last of all, of the common cavaliers. I shall then proceed to the infantry, and describe the musketeers and all the foot soldiers employed in the artillery of both kinds.

It must not be imagined that the omrahs or lords of the Mogul's court are members of ancient families, as our nobility in France. The king being proprietor of all the lands in the empire, there can exist neither dukedoms nor marquisates; nor can any family be found possessed of wealth arising from a domain, and living upon its own patrimony. The courtiers are often not even descendants of omrahs, because the king being heir of all their possessions, no family can long maintain its distinction, but, after the omrah's death, is soon extinguished, and the sons, or at least the grandsons, reduced generally to a state bordering on mendicity, and compelled to enlist as common men in the cavalry of some omrah. The king, however, usually bestows a small pension on the widow, and often on the family; and if the omrah's life be sufficiently prolonged, he may obtain the

advancement of his children by royal favour, particularly if their persons be well formed, and their complexions sufficiently fair to enable them to pass for genuine Moguls. But this advancement through special favour proceeds slowly, for it is an almost invariable custom to pass gradually from small salaries, and inconsiderable offices, to situations of greater trust and emolument. The omrahs, therefore, mostly consist of adventurers from different nations, who entice one another to the court; and are generally persons of low descent, some having been originally slaves, and the majority being destitute of education. The Mogul raises them to dignities, or degrades them to obscurity, according to his own pleasure and caprice.

Some of the omrahs have the title of hazary, or lord of a thousand horse; some, of douhazary, lord of two thousand horse; some of penge, lord of five thousand horse; some of hecht, lord of seven thousand horse; some of dehhazary, lord of ten thousand horse; and sometimes an omrah has the title of douazdeh hazary, lord of twelve thousand horse; as was the case with the king's eldest son. Their pay is proportionate, not to the number of men, but to the number of horses, and two horses are generally allowed to one cavalier, in order that the service may be better performed; for in those hot countries it is usual to say that a soldier with a single horse has one foot on the ground. But let it not be supposed that an

omrah is expected to keep, or indeed that the king would pay for, such a body of horse as is implied by the titles of douazdeh and hecht hazary; high sounding names intended to impose on the credulous, and deceive strangers. The Mogul himself regulates as well the effective number that each omrah is to maintain, as the nominal number which he need not keep, but which is also paid for, and usually forms the principal part of his salary. This salary is increased by the money that the omrah retains out of every man's pay, and by what accrues from his false returns of the horses he is supposed to provide: all which renders the omrah's income very considerable, particularly when he is so fortunate as to have some jagieer, or good land, assigned to him for the payment of his salary: for the omrah under whom I served, a penge-hazary, or lord of five thousand, though without a jagieer, and paid out of the treasury, was yet in the receipt of nearly five thousand crowns per month, after the payment of all expences for the five hundred horse, at which his quota was fixed. Notwithstanding these large incomes, I was acquainted with very few wealthy omrahs; on the contrary, most of them are in embarrassed circumstances, and deeply in debt; not that they are ruined, like the nobility of other countries, by the extravagance of their table, but by the costly presents made to the king at certain annual festivals, and by their

large establishments of wives, servants, camels, and horses.

The omrahs in the provinces, in the armies, and at court, are very numerous; but it was not in my power to ascertain their number, which is not fixed. I never saw less than five and twenty to thirty at court, all of whom were in the receipt of the large incomes already mentioned, dependant for the amount upon their number of horses, from one to twelve thousand.

It is these omrahs who attain to the highest honours and situations of the state,—at court, in the provinces, and in the armies; and who are, as they call themselves, the pillars of the empire. They maintain the splendour of the court, and are never seen out of doors but in the most superb apparel; mounted sometimes on an elephant, sometimes on horseback, and not unfrequently in a palanquin attended by many of their cavalry, and by a large body of servants on foot, who take their station in front, and at either side, of their lord, not only to clear the way, but to flap off the flies and brush the dust with tails of peacocks; to carry the toothpick and salivary-box, water to allay the omrah's thirst, and sometimes story-books or papers. Every omrah at court is obliged, under a certain penalty, to repair twice a day to the assembly, for the purpose of paying his respects to the king, at ten or eleven o'clock in the morning, when he is there seated to dis-

pense justice, and at six in the evening. An omrah must also, in rotation, keep guard in the fortress once every week, during four and twenty hours. He sends thither his bed, carpet, and other furniture; the king supplying him with nothing but his meals. These are received with peculiar ceremony. Thrice the omrah performs the taslim, or reverence, the face turned toward the royal apartment; first dropping the hand down to the ground, and then lifting it up to the head.

Whenever the king takes an excursion in his palanquin, on an elephant, or in a tucktravan, all the omrahs who are not confined by illness, disabled by age, or exempted by a peculiar office, are bound to accompany him on horseback, exposed to the inclemency of the weather and to suffocating clouds of dust. On every occasion the king is completely sheltered, whether taking the diversion of hunting, marching at the head of his troops, or making his progresses from one city to another. When, however, he confines his hunting to the neighbourhood of the city, visits his country house or repairs to the mosque, he sometimes dispenses with so large a retinue, and prefers being attended by such omrahs only as are that day on guard.

Mansebdars are horsemen with manseb pay which is a peculiar pay, both honourable and considerable; not equal to that of the omrahs,

but much greater than the common pay. Hence they are looked on as petty omrahs, and as being of the rank from which the omrahs are taken. They acknowledge no other chief but the king, and have much the same duties imposed upon them as the omrahs, to whom they would be equal if they had horsemen under them, as formerly was sometimes the case; but now they have only two, four, or six horses of service, that is such as bear the king's mark; and their pay is, in some instances, as low as one hundred and fifty rupees per month, and never exceeds seven hundred. Their number is not fixed, but they are much more numerous than the omrahs: besides those in the provinces and armies, there are never less than two or three hundred at court.

Rouzindars are also cavaliers, who receive their pay daily, as the word imports; but their pay is greater, in some instances, than that of many of the mansebdars. It is, however, of a different kind, and not thought so honourable, But the rouzindars are not subject, like the mansebdars, to the agenas; that is are not bound to take, at a valuation, carpets, and other pieces of furniture, that have been used in the king's palace, and on which an unreasonable value is sometimes set. Their number is very great. They fill the inferior offices; many being clerks and under-clerks; while some are employed to affix the king's

signet to barattes, or orders for the payment of money; and they scruple not to receive bribes for the quick issuing of these documents.

The common horsemen serve under the omrahs: they are of two classes; the first consists of those who keep a pair of the horses which the omrah is bound to maintain for the king's service, and which bear the omrah's mark on the thigh, and the second of those who keep only one horse. The former are the more esteemed, and receive the greater pay. The pay of the cavaliers depends, in a great measure, on the generosity of the omrah, who may favour whom he pleases; although it is understood by the Mogul that he that keeps only one horse shall not receive less than five and twenty rupees a month, and on that footing he calculates his accounts with the omrahs.

The foot soldiers receive the smallest pay; and to be sure the musketeers cut a sorry figure at the best of times; which may be said to be when squatting on the ground, and resting their muskets on a kind of wooden fork which hangs to them. Even then, they are terribly afraid of burning their eyes or their long beards, and above all lest some dgen, or evil spirit, should cause the bursting of their musket. Some have twenty rupees a month, some fifteen, some ten; but there are artillerymen who receive great pay, particularly all the Franguis, or Europeans,—Portuguese, English, Dutch, Germans, and

French; fugitives from Goa, and from the Dutch and English companies. Formerly, when the Moguls were little skilled in the management of artillery, the pay of the Europeans was more liberal, and there are still some remaining who receive two hundred rupees a month: but now the king admits them with difficulty into the service, and limits their pay to thirty-two rupees.

The artillery is of two sorts, the heavy and the light, or, as they call the latter, the artillery of the stirrup. With respect to the heavy artillery, I recollect that when the king, after his illness, went with his army to Lahore and Kashmire, to pass the summer in that "paradise of India," it consisted of seventy pieces of cannon, mostly of brass, without reckoning from two to three hundred light camels, each of which carried a small field-piece of the size of a double musket, attached on the back of the animal, much in the same manner as swivels are fixed in our barks. I shall relate elsewhere this expedition of Kashmire, and describe how the king, during that long journey, amused himself, almost every day, with the sports of the field, sometimes letting his birds of prey loose against cranes; sometimes hunting the nilgaus, or grey oxen (a species of elk); another day hunting antelopes with tame leopards; and then indulging in the exclusively royal hunt of the lion.

The artillery of the stirrup, which also accom-

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panied the Mogul in the journey to Lahore and Kashmire, appeared to me extremely well appointed. It consisted of fifty or sixty small field-pieces, all of brass; each piece mounted on a well-made and handsomely painted carriage, containing two ammunition chests, one behind and another in front, and ornamented with a variety of small red streamers. The carriage, with the driver, was drawn by two fine horses, and attended by a third horse, led by an assistant driver, as a relây. The heavy artillery did not always follow the king, who was in the habit of diverging from the high road, in search of hunting ground, or for the purpose of keeping near the course of the waters. It could not move along difficult passes, or cross the bridges of boats thrown over the rivers. But the light artillery is always intended to be near the king's person, and on that account takes the name of artillery of the stirrup. When he resumes his journey in the morning, and is disposed to shoot or hunt in game preserves, the avenues to which are guarded, it moves straight forward, and reaches with all possible speed the next place of encampment, where the royal tents and those of the principal omrahs have been pitched since the preceding day. The guns are then ranged in front of the king's quarters, and by way of signal to the army, fire a volley the moment he arrives.

The army stationed in the provinces differs in nothing from that about the king's person,

except in its superior numbers, In every place there are omrahs, mansebdars, rouzindars, common cavaliers, infantry and artillery. In the Deccan alone the cavalry amounts to twenty or five and twenty, and sometimes to thirty thousand; a force not more than sufficient to overawe the powerful king of Golconda, and to maintain the war against the king of Visiapour and the rajahs who, for the sake of mutual protection, join their forces with his. The number of troops in the kingdom of Cabul, which it is necessary to quarter in that country to guard against any hostile movement on the part of Persia, Baloochistan, Afghanistan, and other mountainous regions, cannot be less than twelve or fifteen thousand. In the kingdom of Kashmire there are more than four thousand. In Bengal, so frequently the seat of war, the number is much greater; and as there is no province which can dispense with a military force, more or less numerous, according to its extent and particular situation, the total amount of troops in Hindostan is almost incredible.

Leaving out of our present calculation the infantry, which is of small amount, and the number of horses, which is merely nominal, and is apt to deceive a superficial observer, I should think, with many persons well conversant with this matter, that the effective cavalry, commonly about the king's person, including rajaputs and Patans, amount to thirty-five or forty thousand;

which, added to those in the provinces, forms a total of more than two hundred thousand horse.

I have said that the infantry was inconsiderable. I do not think that in the army immediately about the king, the number can exceed fifteen thousand, including musketeers, foot artillery, and generally every person connected with that artillery. From this, an estimate may be formed of the number of infantry in the provinces, I cannot account for the prodigious amount of infantry with which some people swell the armies of the Great Mogul, otherwise than by supposing that with the fighting men, they confound servants, sutlers, tradesmen and all those individuals belonging to bazaars, who accompany the troops. Including these followers, I can well conceive that the army immediately about the king's person, particularly when it is known that he intends to absent himself for some time from his capital, may amount to two, or even three hundred thousand infantry. This will not be deemed an extravagant computation, if we bear in mind the immense quantity of tents, kitchens, baggage, furniture and even women, usually attendant on the army. For the conveyance of all these are again required many elephants, camels, oxen, horses and porters. Your lordship will bear in mind that, from the nature and government of this country, where the king is sole proprietor of all the land in the empire, a capital city, such as Delhi or Agra, derives its chief support from the

presence of the army, and that the population is reduced to the necessity of following the Mogul whenever he undertakes a journey of long continuance. Those cities resemble any place rather than Paris; they might more fitly be compared to a camp, if the lodgings and accommodations were not a little superior to those found in the tents of armies.

It is also important to remark the absolute necessity which exists of paying the whole of this army every two months, from the omrah to the private soldier; for the king's pay is the only means of sustenance. In France, when the exigences of the times prevent the government from immediately discharging an arrear of debt, an officer, or even a private soldier, may contrive to live for some time by means of his own private income; but in India, any unusual delay in the payment of the troops is sure to be attended with fatal consequences; after selling whatever trifling articles they may possess, the soldiers disband and die of hunger. Toward the close of the late civil war, I discovered a growing disposition in the cavaliers to sell their horses, which they would, no doubt, soon have done if the war had been prolonged. And no wonder; for consider, my lord, that it is difficult to find in the Mogul's army, a soldier who is not married, who has not wife, children, servants, and slaves, all depending upon him for support. I have known many persons lost in amazement while contemplating the millions of

pay. Is it possible, they have asked, that any revenue can suffice for such incredible e- penditure? seeming to forget the riches of the Great Mogul, and the peculiar manner in which Hindostan is governed.

But I have not enumerated all the expences incurred by the king of India. He keeps in Delhi and Agra from two to three thousand fine horses, always at hand in case of emergency: eight or nine hundred elephants and a large number of baggage horses, mules and porters, intended to carry the numerous and capacious tents, with their cabinets; his wives and women, furniture, kitchen apparatus, Ganges'-water, and several other things which the Mogul has always about him, whether in the field or in his capital, although never thought of in Europe.

There are also the enormous expences of the seraglio, where the consumption of fine linens, gold cloths, brocades, silks, embroideries, pearls, musk, amber and sweet essences is greater than can be conceived.

Thus, although the Great Mogul be in the receipt of an immense revenue, his expenditure being much in the same proportion, he cannot possess the vast surplus of wealth that most people seem to imagine. I admit that his income exceeds probably the joint revenues of the Grand Seignior and of the king of Persia, but if I were to call him a wealthy monarch, it would be in the

sense that a treasurer is to be considered wealthy who pays with one hand the large sums which he receives with the other. I should call that king effectively rich who, without oppressing or impoverishing his people, possessed revenues sufficient to support the expences of a numerous and magnificent court—to erect grand and useful edifices—to indulge a liberal and kind disposition—to maintain a military force for the defence of his dominions—and, besides all this, to reserve an accumulating fund that would provide against any unforeseen rupture with his neighbours, although it should prove of some years' duration. The sovereign of India is doubtless possessed of many of these advantages, but not to the degree generally supposed. What I have said on the subject of the great expences to which he is unavoidably exposed, has perhaps inclined you to this opinion; and the two facts I am about to relate, of which I had an opportunity to ascertain the correctness, will convince your lordship that the pecuniary resources of the Great Mogul himself may be exaggerated.

I. Toward the conclusion of the late war. Aureng-Zêbe was perplexed how to pay and supply his armies, notwithstanding that the war had continued but five years, that the pay of the troops was less than usual, that, with the exception of Bengal where Sultan Sujah still held out, a profound tranquillity reigned in every part of

Hindostan, and that he had so lately appropriated to himself a large portion of his father's treasures.

II. Shah-Jehan, who was a great economist, and reigned more than forty years without being involved in any considerable war, never amassed six crores of rupees.* But I do not include in this sum a great abundance of gold and silver articles, of various descriptions, curiously wrought, and covered with precious stones; or a prodigious quantity of pearls and gems of all kinds, of great size and value. I doubt whether any other monarch possesses more of this species of wealth; a throne of the great Mogul, covered with pearls and diamonds, being alone valued, if my memory be correct, at three crores of rupees. But all these precious stones, and valuable articles, are the spoils of ancient princes, Patans and rajaputs, collected during a long course of years, and, increasing regularly under every reign, by presents which the omrahs are compelled to make on certain annual festivals.† The whole of this treasure is considered

* A crore of rupees is a hundred lacks, or a million sterling.

† The largest diamond probably ever heard of is one mentioned by Tavernier, who saw it in the possession of of Aureng-Zêbe. It was about as big as a hen's egg, and weighed nine hundred carats in the rough. This was perhaps the "unparalleled" diamond which Bernier informs us (page 23) Emir Jemla presented to Shah-Jehan.

The largest diamond brought to Europe is now in the

the property of the crown, which it is criminal to touch, and upon the security of which the king, in a time of pressing necessity, would find it extremely difficult to raise the smallest sum.

Before I conclude, I wish to explain how it happens that although the gold and silver introduced into the empire centre finally in Hindostan, they still are not in greater plenty than elsewhere, and the inhabitants have less the appearance of a monied people than those of many other parts of the globe.

In the first place, a large quantity is melted, remelted, and wasted, in fabricating women's bracelets, both for the hands and feet, chains, ear-rings, nose and finger-rings, and a still larger quantity is consumed in manufacturing embroideries; alachas, or striped silken stuffs; touras, or tufts of golden nets, worn on turbans; gold and silver cloths; scarfs, turbans and brocades. The quantity of these articles, made in India, is incredible. All the troops, from the omrah to the man in the ranks, will wear gilt ornaments; nor will a private soldier refuse them to his wife and children, though the whole family should die of hunger; which indeed is a common occurrence.

The king, as proprietor of the land, makes over a certain quantity to military men, as an

possession of the emperor of Russia. It weighs one hundred and ninety-five carats, and was long employed as the eye of a Brahminical idol.—*Translator.*

equivalent for their pay; and this grant is called jagieer, or, as in Turkey, timar; the word jagieer signifying the spot from which to draw, or the place of salary. Similar grants are made to governors, in lieu of their salary, and also for the support of their troops, on condition that they pay a certain sum annually to the king out of any surplus revenne that the land may yield. The lands not so granted are retained by the king as the peculiar domains of his house, and are seldom, if ever, given in the way of jagieer; and upon these domains he keeps farmers, who are also bound to pay him an annual rent.

The persons thus put in possession of the land, whether as timariots, governors or farmers, have an authority almost absolute over the peasantry, and nearly as much over the artisans and merchants of the towns and villages within their district; and nothing can be imagined more cruel and oppressive than the manner in which it is exercised. There is no one before whom the injured peasant, artisan or tradesman, can pour out his just complaints; no great lords, parliaments or judges of presidial courts exist, as in France, to restrain the wickedness of those merciless oppressors, and the cadis, or judges, are not invested with sufficient power to redress the wrongs of these unhappy people. This sad abuse of the royal authority may not be felt in the same degree near capital cities, such as Delhi and Agra, or in the vicinity of large towns and sea-

ports, because in those places acts of gross injustice cannot easily be concealed from the court.

This debasing state of slavery obstructs the progress of trade and influences the manners and mode of life of every individual. There can be little encouragement to engage in commercial pursuits, when the success with which they may be attended, instead of adding to the enjoyments of life, provokes the cupidity of a neighbouring tyrant possessing both power and inclination to deprive any man of the fruits of his industry. When wealth is acquired, as must sometimes be the case, the possessor, so far from living with increased comfort and assuming an air of independence, studies the means by which he may appear indigent: his dress, lodging and furniture, continue to be mean, and he is careful, above all things, never to indulge in the pleasures of the table. In the mean time, his gold and silver remain buried at a great depth in the ground; agreeable to the general practice among the peasantry, artisans and merchants, whether muhammedans or pagans, but especially among the latter who possess almost exclusively the trade and wealth of the country, and who believe that the money concealed during life will prove beneficial to them after death. A few individuals alone who derive their income from the king or from the omrahs, or who are protected by a powerful patron, are at no pains to counterfeit poverty, but partake of the comforts and luxuries of life.

I have no doubt that this habit of secretly burying the precious metals, and thus withdrawing them from circulation, is the principal cause of their apparent scarcity in Hindostan.

From what I have said, a question will naturally arise, whether it would not be more advantageous for the king as well as for the people, if the former ceased to be sole possessor of the land, and the right of private property were recognized in India as it is with us? I have carefully compared the condition of European states, where that right is acknowledged, with the condition of those countries where it is not known, and am persuaded that the absence of it among the people is injurious to the best interests of the sovereign himself. We have seen how in India the gold and silver disappear in consequence of the tyranny of timariots, governors and farmers—a tyranny which even the monarch, if so disposed, has no means of controuling in provinces not contiguous to his capital—a tyranny often so excessive as to deprive the peasant and artisan of the necessaries of life and leave them to die of misery and exhaustion—a tyranny owing to which those wretched people either have no children at all or have them only to endure the agonies of starvation and to die at a tender age—a tyranny, in fine, that drives the cultivator of the soil from his wretched home to some neighbouring state, in hopes of finding milder treatment, or to the army, where he becomes the servant of a

common horseman. As the ground is seldom tilled otherwise than by compulsion, and as no person is found willing and able to repair the ditches and canals for the conveyance of water, it happens that the whole country is badly cultivated, and a great part rendered unproductive from the want of irrigation. The houses, too, are left in a dilapidated condition, there being few people who will either build new ones, or repair those which are tumbling down. The peasant cannot avoid asking himself this question: "Why should I toil for a tyrant who may come to-morrow and lay his rapacious hands upon all I possess and value, without leaving me, if such should be his humour, the means to drag on my miserable existence?"—The timariots, governors and farmers, on their part reason in this manner "Why should the neglected state of this land create uneasiness in our minds? and why should we expend our own money and time to render it fruitful? we may be deprived of it in a single moment, and our exertions would benefit neither ourselves nor our children. Let us draw from the soil all the money we can, though the peasant should starve or abscond, and we should leave it, when commanded to quit, a dreary wilderness."

The facts I have mentioned are sufficient to account for the rapid declension of the Asiatic states. It is owing to this miserable system of government that most towns in Hindostan are

made up of earth, mud, and other wretched materials; that there is no city or town which, if it be not already ruined and deserted, does not bear evident marks of approaching decay Without confining our remarks to so distant a kingdom, we may judge of the effects of despotic power unrelentingly exercised, by the present condition of Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Palestine, the once wonderful plains of Antioch, and so many other regions anciently well cultivated, fertile and populous, but now desolate, and in many parts marshy, pestiferous, and unfit for human habitation. Egypt also exhibits a sad picture of an enslaved country. More than one-tenth part of that incomparable territory has been lost within the last eighty years, because no one will be at the expence of repairing the canals and confining the Nile within its banks. The low lands are thus violently inundated, and covered with sand, which cannot be removed without much labour and expence. Can it excite wonder, that under these circumstances, the arts do not flourish here as they would do under a better government, or as they flourish in our happier France? No artist can be expected to give his mind to his calling in the midst of a people who are either wretchedly poor, or who, if rich, assume an appearance of poverty, and who regard not the beauty and excellence, but the cheapness of an article: a people whose grandees pay for a work of art considerably under its value, and according to

their own caprice, and who do not hesitate to punish an importunate artist, or tradesman, with the korrah, that long and terrible whip hanging at every omrah's gate. Is it not enough also to damp the ardour of any artist, when he feels that he can never hope to attain to any distinction; that he shall not be permitted to purchase either office or land for the benefit of himself and family; that he must at no time make it appear he is the owner of the most trifling sum; and that he never venture to indulge in good fare, or to dress in fine apparel, lest he should create a suspicion of his possessing money? The arts in India would long ago have lost their beauty and delicacy, if the monarch and principal omrahs did not keep in their pay a number of artists who work in their houses, teach the children, and are stimulated to exertion by the hope of reward and the fear of the korrah. The protection afforded by powerful patrons to rich merchants and tradesmen who give the workmen rather more than the usual wages, tends also to preserve the arts. I say rather more wages, for it should not be inferred from the goodness of the manufactures, that the workman is held in esteem, or arrives at a state of independence. Nothing but sheer necessity or blows from a cudgel keeps him employed; he never can become rich, and he feels it no trifling matter if he have the means of satisfying the cravings of hunger, and of covering his body with the coarsest raiment. If money be gained, it does not in any

measure go into his pocket, but only serves to encrease the wealth of the merchant who, in his turn, is not a little perplexed how to guard against some act of outrage and extortion on the part of his superiors.

A profound and universal ignorance is the natural consequence of such a state of society as I have endeavoured to describe. Is it possible to introduce in Hindostan academies and colleges properly endowed? Where shall we seek for founders? or, should they be found, where are the scholars? Where the individuals whose property is sufficient to support their children at college? or, if such individuals exist, who would venture to display so clear a proof of wealth? Lastly, if any persons should be tempted to commit this great imprudence, yet where are the benefices, the employments, the offices of trust and dignity, that require ability and science and are calculated to excite the emulation and the hopes of the young student?

Nor can the commerce of a country so governed be conducted with the activity and success that we witness in Europe; few are the men who will voluntarily endure labour and anxiety, and incur danger, for another person's benefit,—for a governor who may appropriate to his own use the profit of any speculation. Let that profit be ever so great, the man by whom it has been made, must still wear the garb of indigence; and fare no better, in regard to eating and drinking, than his poorer neighbours.

In cases, indeed, where the merchant is protected by a military man of rank, he may be induced to embark in commercial enterprises; but still he must be the slave of his patron, who will exact whatever terms he pleases as the price of his protection.

The king of India cannot select for his service, princes, noblemen and gentlemen of opulent and ancient families; nor the sons of his citizens, merchants and manufacturers; men of education, possessing a high sense of propriety, affectionately attached to their sovereign, ready to support, by acts of valour, the reputation of their family, and, as the occasion may arise, able and willing to maintain themselves, either at court or in the army, by means of their own patrimony; animated by the hope of better times, and satisfied with the approbation and smile of their sovereign. Instead of men of this description, the Great Mogul is surrounded by slaves, ignorant and brutal; by parasites raised from the dregs of society; strangers to loyalty and patriotism; full of insufferable pride, and destitute of courage, of honour and of decency.

The country is ruined by the necessity of defraying the enormous charges required to maintain the splendour of a numerous court, and to pay a large army maintained for the purpose of keeping the people in subjection. No adequate idea can be conveyed of the sufferings of that people. The cane and the whip compel them to

incessant labour for the benefit of others; and driven to despair by every kind of cruel treatment, their revolt or their flight is only prevented, by the presence of a military force.

The misery of this ill-fated country is increased by the practice which prevails too much at all times, but especially on the breaking out of an important war, of selling the different governments for immense sums in hard cash. Hence it naturally becomes the principal object of the individual thus appointed governor, to obtain repayment of the purchase money, which he borrowed as he could at a ruinous rate of interest. Indeed whether the government of a province have or have not been bought, the governor, as well as the timariot and the farmer of the revenue, must find the means of making valuable presents, every year, to a vizier, an eunuch, a lady of the seraglio, and to any other person whose influence at court he considers indispensable. The governor must also enforce the payment of the regular tribute to the king; and although he was originally a wretched slave, involved in debt, and without the smallest patrimony, he yet becomes a great and opulent lord.

Thus do ruin and desolation overspread the land. The provincial governors, as before observed, are so many petty tyrants, possessing a boundless authority; and as there is no one to whom the oppressed subject may appeal, he

cannot hope for redress, let his injuries be ever so grievous or ever so frequently repeated.

It is true that the Great Mogul sends vakea-nevis to the various provinces; that is, persons whose business it is to communicate every event that takes place; but there is generally a disgraceful collusion between these officers and the governor, so that their presence seldom restrains the tyranny exercised over the unhappy people.

Governments also are not so often and so openly sold in Hindostan as in Turkey. I say, so openly, because the costly presents, made occasionally by the governors, are nearly equivalent to purchase money. The same persons too, generally remain longer in their respective governments than in Turkey, and the people are gradually less oppressed by governors of some standing than when, indigent and greedy, they first take possession of their province. The tyranny of these men is also somewhat mitigated by the apprehension that the people, if used with excessive cruelty, may abandon the country, and seek an asylum in the territory of some rajah, as indeed happens very often.

In Persia likewise are governments neither so frequently nor so publicly sold as in Turkey; for it is not uncommon for the children of governors to succeed their fathers. The consequence of this better state of things is seen in the superior condition

of the people, as compared to those of Turkey. The Persians also are more polite, and there are even instances of their devoting themselves to study.

Those three countries, Turkey, Persia, and Hindostan, have no idea of the principle of meum and tuum, relatively to land or other real possessions; and having lost that respect for the right of property, which is the basis of all that is good and useful in the world, necessarily resemble each other in essential points: they fall into the same pernicious errors, and must, sooner or later, experience the natural consequences of those errors—tyranny, ruin, and misery.

How happy and thankful should we feel, my lord, that in our quarter of the globe, kings are not the sole proprietors of the soil. Were they so, we should seek in vain for countries well cultivated and populous, for well built and opulent cities, for a polite, contented, and flourishing people. If this exclusive and baneful right prevailed, far different would be the real riches of the sovereigns of Europe, and the loyalty and fidelity with which they are served. They would soon reign over solitudes and deserts, over mendicants and barbarians.

Actuated by a blind and wicked ambition to be more absolute than is warranted by the laws of God and of nature, the kings of Asia grasp at every thing, until at length they lose every thing; or, if they do not always find themselves

without pecuniary resources, they are invariably disappointed in the expectation of acquiring the riches which they covet. If the same system of government existed with us, where, I must again ask, should we find princes, prelates, nobles, opulent citizens, and thriving tradesmen, ingenious artisans and manufacturers? Where should we look for such cities as Paris, Lyons, Toulouse, Rouen, or, if you will, London, and so many others? Where should we see that infinite number of towns and villages; all those beautiful country houses, those fine plains, hills and vallies, cultivated with so much care, art and labour? and what would become of the ample revenues derived from so much industry, an industry beneficial alike to the sovereign and the subject! The reverse of this smiling picture would, alas! be exhibited. Our large towns would become uninhabitable in consequence of the unwholesome air, and fall into ruins without exciting in any person a thought of preventing or repairing the decay; our fertile hills would be abandoned, and the plains would be overrun with thorns and weeds, or covered with pestilential morasses. The excellent accommodations for travellers would disappear; the good inns, for example, between Paris and Lyons, would dwindle into ten or twelve wretched caravansaries, and travellers be reduced to the necessity of moving, like the Bohemians, with every thing about them. The Eastern caravan

saries* resemble large barns, raised and paved all round, in the same manner as our Pont-neuf. Hundreds of human beings are seen in them, mingled with their horses, mules, and camels. In summer these buildings are hot and suffocating, and in winter nothing but the breath of so many animals prevents the inmates from dying of cold.

But there are countries, I shall be told, such for instance as the Grand Seignior's dominions, where the principle of meum and tuum is unknown, which not only preserve their existence, but maintain a great and increasing power.

An empire so prodigiously extensive as that of the Grand Seignior, comprising countries whose soil is so deep and excellent that even without due cultivation it will continue fertile for many years, cannot be otherwise than rich and powerful. Yet how insignificant is the wealth and strength of Turkey in comparison of its extent and natural advantages. Let us only suppose that country as populous and as carefully cultivated as it would become if the right of private property were recognized and acted upon, and we cannot doubt that it could raise and support armies as numerous and well appointed as formerly: but even at Constantinople three months are now

* Karavanserah is a Persee and Arabic compound of Kar, signifying business, Rawan the participle of the verb rufteen, to go, move, proceed, &c. and of Serah, an habitation.—*Translator.*

required to raise five or six thousand men. I have travelled through nearly every part of the empire, and witnessed how lamentably it is ruined and depopulated. Some support it undoubtedly derives from the Christian slaves brought from all quarters; but if that country continue many years under the present system of government, it must necessarily fall and perish from innate weakness, though, to all appearance, it is now preserved by that weakness itself; for there is no longer a governor, or any other person, possessed of pecuniary means to undertake the least enterprise, or who could find the men he would require to accomplish his purpose. Strange means of preservation! Turkey seems to owe its transient existence to the seeds of destruction in its own bosom! To remove the danger of commotion and put an end to all fears on that subject, nothing more appears necessary than the measure adopted by a Brahmin of Pegu, who actually caused the death of half the population by famine, converted the country into forests and prevented for many years the tillage of the land. But all this did not suffice: even the Brahmin's plan was unsuccessful; a division of the kingdom took place, and Ava, the capital, was very lately on the point of being captured by a handful of fugitives from China. We must confess, however, that there seems little probability of the total ruin and destruction of the Turkish empire in our day; (it will be happy if we see nothing worse!)

because the neighbouring states, so far from being able to attack it, are not in a condition to defend themselves effectually, without foreign aid, which remoteness and jealousy will always render tardy, inefficient and liable to suspicion.

If it be observed that there is no reason why eastern states hould not have the benefit of good laws, or why the people in the provinces may not complain of their grievances to a grand vizier, or to the king himself; I shall admit that they are not altogether destitute of good laws, which, if properly administered, would render Asia as eligible a residence as any other part of the world. But of what advantage are good laws when not observed, and when there is no possibility of enforcing their observance? Have not the provincial tyrants been nominated by the same grand vizier and by the same king who alone have power to redress the people's wrongs? and is it not a fact that they have no means of appointing any but tyrants to rule over the provinces? either the vizier or the king has sold the place to the governor. And even admitting that there existed a disposition to listen to a complaint, how is a poor peasant or a ruined artisan to defray the expences of a journey to the capital, and to seek justice at one hundred and fifty or two hundred leagues from home? He would be waylaid and murdered, as frequently happens, or sooner or later fall into the governor's hands, and be at his mercy. Should he chance to reach the royal residence, he

would find the friends of his oppressor busy in distorting the truth, and misrepresenting the whole affair to the king. In short, the governor is absolute lord, in the strictest sense of the word. He is in his own person the intendant of justice, the parliament, the presidial court and the assessor and receiver of the king's taxes. A Persian, in speaking of these greedy governors, timariots, and farmers of revenue, aptly describes them as men who extract oil out of sand. No income appears adequate to maintain them, with their crowds of harpies, women, children and slaves.

If it be remarked that the lands which our kings hold as domains, are as well cultivated, and as thickly peopled as other lands, my answer is that there can be no analogy between a kingdom whose monarch is proprietor of a few domains, and a kingdom where the monarch possesses, in his own right, every acre of the soil. In France the laws are so reasonable, that the king is the first to obey them: his domains are held without the violation of any right; his farmers or stewards may be sued at law, and the aggrieved artisan or peasant is sure to find redress against injustice and oppression. But in eastern countries, the weak and the injured are without any refuge whatever; and the only law that decides all controversies, is the cane and the caprice of a governor.

There certainly however, some may say, are some advantages peculiar to despotic governments:

they have fewer lawyers, and fewer law-suits, and those few are more speedily decided. We cannot, indeed, too greatly admire the old Persian proverb, "Na-hac kouta better-ez hac deraz:" "Speedy injustice is preferable to tardy justice." Protracted law-suits are, I admit, insupportable evils in any state, and it is incumbent upon a sovereign to provide a remedy against them. It is certain that no remedy would be so efficacious as the destruction of the right of private property. Do away with this meum and tuum, and the necessity for an infinite number of legal proceedings will at once cease, especially for those which are important, long and intricate: the larger portion of magistrates employed by the king to administer justice to his subjects, will also become useless, as will those swarms of attornies and counsellors who live by judicial contests. But it is equally certain that the remedy would be infinitely worse than the disease, and that there is no estimating the misery that would afflict the country. Instead of magistrates on whose probity the monarch can depend, we should be at the mercy of such rulers as I have described. In Asia, if justice be ever adminstered, it is among the lower classes, among persons who being equally poor, have no means of corrupting the judges, and of buying false witnesses; witnesses always to be had in great nunbers, at a cheap rate, and never punished. I am speaking the language of

several years' experience; my information was obtained from various quarters, and is the result of many careful enquiries among the natives, European merchants long settled in the country, ambassadors, consuls, and interpreters. My testimony is I know at variance with the account given by most of our travellers. They happened, perhaps, in passing through a town, to see two poor men, the dregs of the people, in the presence of a cadi. Our countrymen may have seen them hurried out of court to receive either the one or the other, if not both, hard blows on the soles of the feet, unless the parties were immediately dismissed with a maybale-baba, or a few soft words which the magistrate sometimes utters when he finds that no bribe can be expected. No doubt, this summary mode of proceeding excited the admiration of our travellers, and they returned to France, exclaiming, "O, what an excellent and quick administration of justice! O, the upright cadis of Hindostan! Models for the imitation of French magistrates!" not considering that if the party really in the wrong had possessed the means of putting a couple of crowns into the hands of the cadi or his clerks, and of buying with the same sum two false witnesses, he would indisputably have gained his cause, or prolonged it as long as he pleased.

Yes, my lord, I must repeat it; take away the right of private property in lands, and you intro-

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duce, as a sure and necessary consequence, tyranny, injustice, beggary and barbarism: the ground will cease to be cultivated and become a dreary wilderness; in a word, the road will be opened to the ruin of kings and the destruction of nations. It is the hope by which a man is animated, that he shall retain the fruits of his industry and transmit them to his descendants, that forms the main foundation of every thing excellent and beneficial in this sublunary state; and if we take a review of the different kingdoms in the world, we shall find that they prosper or decline according as this principle is acknowledged or contemned: in a word, it is the prevalence or neglect of this principle which changes and diversifies the face of the earth.

A LETTER TO MONSIEUR DE LA MOTHE LE VAYER; CONTAINING THE DESCRIPTION OF DELHI AND AGRA; AND DETAILS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE GREAT MOGUL'S COURT, AND OF THE MANNERS AND GENIUS OF THE PEOPLE OF INDIA.

SIR, Delhi, 1st July, 1663.

I KNOW that your first enquiries on my return to France will be respecting the capital cities of this empire. You will be anxious to learn if Delhi and Agra rival Paris in beauty, extent and number of inhabitants. I hasten, therefore, to gratify your curiosity upon these points and I may perhaps intersperse a few other matters which you will not find altogether uninteresting.

In treating of the beauty of these towns, I must premise that I have sometimes been astonished to hear the contemptuous manner in which Europeans in India speak of these and other places. They complain that the buildings are inferior in beauty to those of the western world, forgetting that different climates require different styles of architecture; that what is useful and proper at Paris, London or Amsterdam, would be entirely out of place at Delhi; insomuch that if it were possible for any one of those great capitals to change place with the metropolis of India, it would become necessary to throw down the greater part of the city, and to rebuild it on a totally different plan. Without doubt, the cities of Europe may boast great beauties; these,

however, are of an appropriate character, suited to a cold climate. Thus Delhi also may possess beauties adapted to a warm climate. The heat is so intense in Hindostan, that no one, not even the king, wears stockings; the only cover for the feet being babouches, or slippers, while the head is protected by a small turban, of the finest and most delicate materials. The other garments are proportionably light. During the summer season, it is scarcely possible to keep the hand on the wall of an apartment, or the head on a pillow. For more than six successive months, every body lies in the open air without covering—the common people in the streets, the merchants and persons of condition sometimes in their courts or gardens, and sometimes on their terraces, which are first carefully watered. Now, only suppose the streets of St. Jaques or St. Denis transported hither, with their close houses and endless stories; would they be habitable? or would it be possible to sleep in them during the night, when the absence of wind encreases the heat almost to suffocation? Suppose one just returned on horseback, half dead with heat and dust, and drenched, as usual, in perspiration; and then imagine the luxury of squeezing up a narrow dark staircase to the fourth or fifth story, there to remain almost choked with heat. In India, there is no such troublesome task to perform. You have only to swallow quickly a draught of fresh water, or lemonade; to undress; wash face, hands and feet, and then immediately

drop upon a sofa in some shady place, where one or two servants fan you with their great panhas or fans. But I shall now endeavour to give you an accurate description of Delhi, that you may judge for yourself how far it has a claim to the appellation of a beautiful city.

It is about forty years ago that Shah-Jehan, father of the present Great Mogul, Aureng-Zêbe, conceived the design of immortalizing his name by the erection of a city near the site of the ancient Delhi. This new capital he called after his own name, Shah-Jehan-Abad, or, for brevity, Jehan-Abad; that is to say, the colony of Shah-Jehan. Here he resolved to fix his court, alleging as the reason for its removal from Agra, that the excessive heat to which that city is exposed during summer, rendered it unfit for the residence of a monarch. The materials for the new city were furnished, in great measure, by the neighbouring ruins; and hence foreigners confound both cities under the general appellation of Delhi, though in India the new capital is most frequently called by the name which it received from its founder. For the sake of convenience, however, I chose rather to comply with the custom of Europe.

Delhi, then, is an entirely new city, situated in a flat country, on the banks of the Jumna, a river which may be compared to the Loire, and built on one bank only in such a manner that it terminates in this place very much in the form of a crescent, having but one bridge of boats to cross

to the country. Excepting the side where it is defended by the river, the city is encompassed by walls of brick. The fortifications, however, are very incomplete, as there are neither ditches nor any other kind of additional defence, if we except flanking towers of antique shape, at intervals of about one hundred paces, and a bank of earth forming a platform behind the walls, four or five French feet in thickness. Although these works encompass not only the city but the citadel, yet their extent is less than is generally supposed. I have accomplished the circuit with ease in the space of three hours, and notwithstanding I rode on horseback I do not think my progress exceeded a French league per hour. In this computation I do not however include the suburbs, which are considerable, comprising a long chain of buildings on the side of Lahore, the extensive remains of the old city, and three or four smaller suburbs. By these additions the extent of the city is so much encreased that a straight line may be traced in it of more than a French league and a half; and though I cannot undertake to define exactly the circumference, because these suburbs are interspersed with extensive gardens and open spaces, yet you must see that it is very great.

The citadel, which contains the mâhil or seraglio, and the other royal apartments of which I shall have occasion to speak hereafter, is round, or rather semicircular. It commands a prospect of the river, from which it is separated by

a sandy space of considerable length and width. On these sands are exhibited the combats of elephants, and there the corps belonging to the omrahs or lords, and those of the rajahs or pagan princes, pass in review before the sovereign, who witnesses the spectacle from the windows of the palace. The walls of the citadel, as to their antique and round towers, resemble those of the city, but being partly of brick, and partly of a red stone which resembles marble, they have a better appearance. The walls of the fortress likewise excel those of the town in height, strength and thickness, being capable of admitting small field pieces, which are pointed toward the city. Except on the side of the river, the citadel is defended by a deep ditch faced with hewn stone, filled with water, and stocked with fish. Considerable as these works may appear, their real strength is by no means great, and in my opinion a battery of moderate force would soon level them with the ground.

Adjoining the ditch is a large garden, filled at all times with flowers and green shrubs, which, contrasted with the stupendous red walls, produce a beautiful effect.

Next to the garden is the great royal square, faced on one side by the gates of the fortress, and on the opposite side of which terminate the two most considerable streets of the city.

The tents of such rajahs as are in the king's pay, and whose weekly turn it is to mount guard, are pitched in this square; those petty sovereigns

having an insuperable objection to be enclosed within walls. The guard within in the fortress is mounted by the omrahs and mansebdars.

In this place also at break of day they exercise the royal horses, which are kept in a spacious stable not far distant; and here the kobat-khan, or grand muster master of the cavalry, examines carefully the horses of those who have been received into the service. If they are found to be Turkish horses, that is from Turkestan or Tartary, and of a proper size and adequate strength, they are branded on the thigh with the king's mark, and with the mark of the omrah under whom the horseman is enlisted. This is well contrived to prevent the loan of the same horses for different review days.

Here too is held a bazaar or market for an endless variety of things; which, like the Pont-neuf at Paris, is the rendezvous for all sorts of mountebanks and jugglers. Hither, likewise, the astrologers resort, both muhammedan and pagan. These wise doctors remain seated in the sun, on a dusty piece of carpet, handling some old mathematical instruments, and having open before them a large book which represents the signs of the zodiack. In this way they attract the attention of the passengers, and impose upon the people, by whom they are considered as so many infallible oracles. They tell a poor person his fortune for a payssa (a penny); and after examining the hand and face of the appli-

cant, turning over the leaves of the large book, and pretending to make certain calculations, these impostors, decide upon the sahet, or propitious moment of commencing the business he may have in hand. Silly women, wrapping themselves in a white cloth from head to foot, flock to the astrologers, whisper to them all the transactions of their lives, and disclose every secret with no more reserve than is practised by a scrupulous penitent in the presence of her confessor. The ignorant and infatuated people really believe that the stars have an influence which the astrologers can control.

The most ridiculous of these pretenders to divination, was a half-cast Portuguese, a fugitive from Goa. This fellow sat on his carpet as gravely as the rest, and had many customers notwithstanding he could neither read nor write. His only instrument was an old mariner's compass, and his books of astrology a couple of old Romish prayer books in the Portuguese language, the pictures of which he pointed out as the signs of the European zodiack. *A tal bestias, tal astrologuo,* he unblushingly observed to the Jesuit, the reverend father Buzé, who saw him at his work.

I am speaking only of the poor astrologers seen in the bazaars. Those who frequent the courts of the grandees are considered by them eminent doctors, and become wealthy. The whole of Asia is degraded by the same superstition.

Kings and nobles grant large salaries to these crafty diviners, and never engage in the most trifling transaction without consulting them. They read whatever is written in heaven; fix upon the sahet, and solve every doubt by opening the koran.

The two principal streets of the city, already mentioned as leading into the square, may be five and twenty or thirty ordinary paces in width. They run in a straight line nearly as far as the eye can reach; but the one leading to the Lahore gate is much the longer. In regard to houses, the two streets are exactly alike. As in our Place Royale, there are arcades on both sides; with this difference, however, that they are only brick, and that the top serves for a terrace and has no additional building. They also differ from the Place Royale in not having an uninterrupted opening from one to the other, but are generally separated by partitions, in the spaces between which are open shops, where, during the day, artisans work, bankers sit for the dispatch of their business, and merchants exhibit their wares. Within the arch is a small door, opening into a warehouse, in which these wares are deposited for the night.

The houses of the merchants are built over these warehouses, at the back of the arcades: they look handsome enough from the street, and appear tolerably commodious within; they are airy, at a distance from the dust, and commu-

nicate with the terrace, on which the inhabitants sleep at night: the houses, however, are not continued the whole length of the streets. A few, and only a few other parts of the city have good houses raised on terraces, the buildings over the magazines being often too low to be seen from the street. The rich merchants have their dwellings elsewhere, to which they retire after the hours of business.

There are five streets not so long nor so straight as the two principal ones, but resembling them in every other respect. Of the numberless streets which cross each other, many have arcades; but having been built at different periods by individuals who paid no regard to symmetry, very few are so well built so wide or so straight, as those I have described.

Amid these streets are dispersed the habitations of mansebdars, officers of justice, rich merchants, and others; many of which have a tolerable appearance. Very few are built entirely of brick or stone, and several are made only of clay and straw, yet they are airy and pleasant, most of them having courts and gardens, being commodious inside, and containing good furniture. The thatched roof is supported by a layer of long, handsome and strong canes, and the clay walls are covered with a fine white lime.

Intermixed with these different houses is an immense number of small ones, composed of earth

and straw, in which lodge the common horsemen and all that vast multitude of servants and sutlers who follow the court and the army.

It is owing to these thatched cottages that Delhi is subject to such frequent conflagrations. More than sixty thousand roofs were consumed this last year by three fires, during the prevalence of certain impetuous winds which blow generally in summer. So rapid were the flames that several camels and horses were burnt. Many of the inmates of the seraglio also fell victims to the devouring element; for these poor women are so bashful and helpless that they can do nothing but hide their faces at the sight of strangers, and those who perished possessed not sufficient energy to fly from the danger.

It is because of these wretched clay and straw houses that I always represent to myself Delhi as a collection of many villages, or as a military encampment with a few more conveniences than are usually found in such places. The dwellings of the omrahs, though mostly situated on the banks of the river, and in the suburbs, are yet scattered in every direction. In these hot countries a house is considered beautiful if it be possessed of great conveniences, and if the situation be airy and exposed on all sides to the wind, especially to the northern breezes. A good house has its court-yards, gardens, trees, basons of water, small jets d'eau in the hall or at the entrance, and handsome subterraneous apartments which are furnished with large

fans, and on account of their coolness fit places for repose from noon until four or five o'clock, when the air becomes suffocatingly warm. Instead of these caves, many persons prefer kaskanays, that is, small and neat houses made of straw or odoriferous roots placed commonly in the middle of a parterre, so near to a reservoir of water, that the servants may easily moisten the outside by means of water brought in skins. A house to be greatly admired must be seated in the middle of a large flower garden, and should have four large divans, raised the height of a man from the ground, and exposed to the four winds, so that the coolness may be felt from any quarter. Indeed no handsome dwelling is ever seen without terraces on which the family may sleep during the night. They always open into a large chamber into which the bedstead is easily moved in case of rain, when thick clouds of dust arise, when the cold air is felt at break of day, or when it is found necessary to guard against those light but penetrating dews which frequently cause a numbness in the limbs and induce a species of paralysis.

The interior of a good house has the whole floor covered with a cotton mat four inches in thickness, over which a fine white cloth is spread during the summer, and a silk carpet in the winter. At the most conspicuous side of the chamber are one or two mattresses, with fine coverings quilted in the form of flowers and ornamented with delicate silk embroidery, inter-

spersed with gold and silver. These are intended for the master of the house, or any person of quality who may happen to call. Each mattress has a large cushion of brocade to lean upon, and there are other cushions placed round the room, covered with brocade, velvet or flowered satin, for the rest of the company. Five or six feet from the floor, the sides of the room are full of niches, cut in a variety of shapes, tasteful and well proportioned, in which are seen porcelain vases and flower pots. The ceiling is gilt and painted, but without pictures of man or beast, such representations being forbidden by the religion of the country.

This is a pretty just description of a fine house in India; and as there are many in Delhi possessing all the properties above mentioned, I think it may be safely asserted, without disparagement to the towns in our quarter of the globe, that the capital of Hindostan is not destitute of handsome buildings, although they bear no resemblance to those in Europe.

That which so much contributes to the beauty of European towns, the brilliant appearance of the shops, is wanting in Delhi. For though this city be the seat of a powerful and magnificent court, where an infinite quantity of the richest commodities is necessarily collected, yet there are no streets like our St. Denis, which has not perhaps its equal in any part of Asia. Here the costly merchandize is generally kept in ware-

houses, and the shops are seldom decked with rich or showy articles. For one that makes a display of beautiful and fine cloths, silk, and other stuffs striped with gold and silver, turbans embroidered with gold, and brocades, there are at least five and twenty where nothing is seen but pots of oil or butter, piles of baskets filled with rice, barley, chick-peas, wheat, and an endless variety of other grain and pulse, the ordinary aliment not only of the Hindoos, who never eat meat, but of the lower class of muhammedans, and a considerable portion of the military.

There is, indeed, a fruit market that makes some shew. It contains many shops which during the summer are well supplied with dry fruit from Persia, Bulkh, Bukharia and Samarcand; such as almonds, pistachio and small nuts, raisins, prunes, and apricots; and in winter, with excellent fresh grapes, black and white, brought from the same countries, wrapped in cotton; pears and apples of three or four sorts, and those admirable melons which last the whole winter. These fruits are however very dear; a single melon selling for a crown and a half. But nothing is considered so great a treat: it forms the chief expense of the omrahs, and I have frequently known my aga spend twenty crowns on fruit for his breakfast.

In summer the melons of the country are cheap, but they are of an inferior kind: there are no means of procuring good ones but by sending to Persia for seed, and sowing it in ground prepared

with extraordinary care, in the manner practised by the grandees. Good melons, however, are scarce, the soil being so little congenial that the seed degenerates after the first year.

Ambas, or mangoes, are in season during two summer months, and are plentiful and cheap; but those grown at Delhi are indifferent. The best come from Bengal, Golconda and Goa, and these are indeed excellent, yielding to no sweetmeat in flavour and lusciousness.

Pateques, or water-melons, are in great abundance nearly the whole year round; but those of Delhi are soft, without colour or sweetness. If this fruit be ever found good, it is among the omrahs, who import the seed and cultivate it with much care and expence.

There are many confectioners' shops in the town, but the sweetmeats are badly made, and full of dust and flies.

Bakers also are numerous, but the ovens are unlike our own, and very defective. The bread, therefore, is neither well made nor properly baked. That sold in the fortress is tolerably good, and the omrahs bake at home, so that their bread is much superior. In its composition they are not sparing of fresh butter, milk and eggs; but though it be raised, it has a burnt taste, and is too much like cake; not to be compared to the gonnesse, and other bread, eaten at Paris.

In the bazaars there are shops where meat is sold roasted and dressed in a variety of ways.

But there is no trusting to their dishes, composed for aught I know, of the flesh of camels, horses, or perhaps oxen which have died of disease. Indeed no food can be considered wholesome which is not dressed at home.

Meat is sold in every part of the city; but instead of goat's flesh that of mutton is often palmed upon the buyer; an imposition which ought to be guarded against, because mutton and beef, but particularly the former, though not unpleasant to the taste, are heating, flatulent, and difficult of digestion. Kid is the best food, but being rarely sold in quarters, it must be purchased alive, which is very inconvenient, as the meat will not keep from morning to night, and is generally lean and without flavour. The goats' flesh found in quarters at the butchers' shops, is frequently that of the she-goat, which is lean and tough.

But it would be unreasonable in me to complain; because since I have been familiarized with the manners of the people, it seldom happens that I find fault either with my meat or my bread. I send my servant to the king's purveyors in the fortress, who are glad to sell wholesome food, which costs them very little, at the high price I am willing to pay. My aga smiled when I remarked that I had been for years in the habit of living by stealth and artifice, and that the one hundred and fifty crowns which he gave me monthly would not otherwise keep me from starving, although in France I could, for

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half a rupee, eat every day as good meal as the king.

As to capons, none are seen in Delhi; the people being tender-hearted toward animals of every description, men only excepted; but these are wanted for their seraglios. The markets, however, are amply supplied with fowls, tolerably good and cheap. Among others, there is a small hen, delicate and tender, which I call Ethiopian, the skin being quite black.

Pigeons are exposed for sale, but not young ones, the Indians considering them too small, and saying that it would be cruel to deprive them of life at so tender an age.

There are partridges which are smaller than ours, but being caught with nets, and brought alive from a distance, are not so good as fowls. The same thing may be remarked of ducks and hares, which are brought alive in crowded cages.

The people of this neighbourhood are indifferent fishermen; yet good fish may sometimes be bought, particularly two sorts, called sing-ala and rau. The former resembles our pike; the latter our carp. When the weather is cold, the people will not fish at all if they can avoid it; for they have a much greater dread of cold than Europeans have of heat. Should any fish then happen to be seen in the market, it is immediately bought up by the eunuchs who are particularly fond of it; why I cannot tell. The omrahs alone contrive to force the fishermen out at all times

by means of the korrah, the long whip always suspended at their door.

You may judge from what I have said, whether a lover of good cheer ought to quit Paris for the sake of visiting Delhi. Unquestionably the great are in the enjoyment of every thing; but it is by dint of the numbers in their service, by dint of the korrah, and by dint of money. In Delhi there is no middle state. A man must either be of the highest rank or live miserably. My pay is considerable, nor am I sparing of money; yet does it often happen that I have not wherewithal to satisfy the cravings of hunger, the bazaars being so ill supplied, and frequently containing nothing but the refuse of the grandees. Wine, that essential part of every entertainment, can be obtained in none of the shops at Delhi, although it might be made from the native grape, were not the use of that liquor prohibited equally by the Hindoo and Muhammedan law. I drank some at Ahmedabad and Golconda, in Dutch and English houses, which was not ill tasted. If wine be sometimes found in the Mogul empire, it is either Schiraz or Canary. The former is sent by land from Persia to Bunder Abas, where it is embarked for Surat, from which port it reaches Delhi in forty-six days. The Canary wine is brought by the Dutch to Surat; but both these wines are so dear that, according to the saying of the country, the taste is destroyed by the cost. A bottle containing about three Paris pints (three English

quarts) cannot be purchased under six or seven crowns. The liquor peculiar to this country is arac, a spirit drawn by distillation from unrefined sugar; the sale of which is also strictly forbidden, and none but Christians dare openly to drink it. Arac is a spirit as harsh and burning as that made from corn in Poland, and the use of it to the least excess occasions nervous and incurable disorders. A wise man will here accustom himself to the pure and fine water, or to the excellent lemonade, which costs little and may be drunk without injury. To say the truth, few persons in these hot climates feel a strong desire for wine, and I have no doubt that the happy ignorance which prevails of many distempers, is fairly ascribable to the general habits of sobriety among the people and to the profuse perspiration to which they are perpetually subject. The gout, the stone, complaints in the kidneys, catarrhs and quartan agues are nearly unknown; and persons who arrive in India afflicted with any of these disorders, as was the case with me, soon experience a complete cure. Even the venereal disease, common as it is in Hindostan, is not of so virulent a character, or attended with such injurious consequences, as in other parts of the world. But although there is a greater enjoyment of health, yet there is less vigour among the people than in our colder climates; and the feebleness and languor both of body and mind, consequent upon excessive heat, may be considered

a species of unremitting malady, which attacks all persons indiscriminately, and among the rest Europeans not yet inured to the heat.

Workshops, occupied by skilful artisans, would be vainly sought for in Delhi; which has very little to boast of in that respect. This is not owing to any inability in the people to cultivate the arts, for there are ingenious men in every part of India. Numerous are the instances of handsome pieces of workmanship made by persons destitute of tools, and who can scarcely be said to have received instruction from a master. Sometimes they imitate so perfectly articles of European manufacture, that the difference between the original and copy can hardly be discerned. Among other things, the Indians make excellent muskets, and fowling pieces, and such beautiful gold ornaments that it may be doubted if the exquisite workmanship of those articles can be exceeded by any European goldsmith. I have often admired the beauty, softness, and delicacy of their paintings and miniatures, and was particularly struck with the exploits of Acbar, painted on a shield by a celebrated artist, who is said to have been seven years in completing the picture. I thought it a wonderful performance. The Indian painters are chiefly deficient in just proportions and in the expression of the face; but these defects would soon be corrected if they possessed good masters, and were instructed in the rules of art.

Want of genius, therefore, is not the reason, why works of superior art are not exhibited in the capital. If the artists and manufacturers were encouraged the useful and fine arts would flourish; but these unhappy men are contemned, treated with harshness, and inadequately remunerated for their labour. The rich will have every article at a cheap rate. When an omrah or mansebdar requires the services of an artisan, he sends to the bazaar for him, employing force, if necessary, to make the poor man work; and after the task is finished, the unfeeling lord pays, not according to the value of the labour, but agreeably to his own standard of fair remuneration; the artisan having reason to congratulate himself if the korrah has not been given in part payment. How then can it be expected that any spirit of emulation should animate the artist or manufacturer? Instead of contending for a superiority of reputation, his only anxiety is to finish his work, and to earn the pittance that shall supply him with a piece of bread. The artists, therefore, who arrive at any eminence in their art are those only who are in the service of the king or of some powerful omrah, and who work exclusively for their patron.

The citadel contains the seraglio and other royal edifices; but you are not to imagine that they are such buildings as the Louvre or the Escurial. The edifices in the fortress have nothing European in their structure; nor ought

they, as I have already observed, to resemble the architecture of France and Spain. It is sufficient if they have that magnificence which is suited to the climate.

The entrance of the fortress presents nothing remarkable besides two large elephants of stone, placed at either side of one of the principal gates. On one of the elephants is seated the statue of Jemel, the renowned rajah of Chitore; on the other is that to his brother of Polta. These are the brave heroes who, with their still braver mother, immortalized their names by the extraordinary resistance which they opposed to the celebrated Acbar; who defended the towns besieged by that great emperor with unshaken resolution; and who, at length reduced to extremity, devoted themselves to their country, and chose rather to perish with their mother in sallies against the enemy, than submit to an insolent invader. It is owing to this extraordinary devotion on their part, that their enemies have thought them deserving of the statues here erected to their memory. These two large elephants, mounted by the two heroes, have an air of grandeur, and inspire me with an awe and respect which I cannot describe.

After passing into the citadel through this gate, there is seen a long and spacious street, divided in the midst by a canal of running water. The street has a long divan, or raised way, on both sides, in the manner of the Pont-neuf,

five or six French feet high and four broad. Bordering the divan, are closed arcades, which run up the whole way in the form of gates. It is upon this long divan that all the controllers, and other petty officers, exercise their functions without being incommoded by the horses and people that pass in the street below. The mansebdars or inferior omrahs mount guard on this raised way during the night. The water of the canal runs into the seraglio, divides and intersects every part, and then falls into the ditches of the fortification. This water is brought from the river Jumna, by means of a canal opened at a distance of five or six leagues above Delhi, and cut with great labour, through fields and rocky ground.*

The other principal gate of the fortress also conducts to a long and tolerably wide street, which has a divan on both sides bordered by shops instead of arcades. Properly speaking, this street is a bazaar, rendered very convenient in the summer and the rainy season by the long and capacious arched roof with which it is covered. Air and light are intromitted by several large and round apertures in the roof.

Besides these two streets, the citadel contains many smaller ones, both to the right and to the left, leading to the quarters where the omrahs mount guard, during four and twenty hours, in

* See note G at the end of the volume.

regular rotation, once a week. The places where this duty is performed may be called splendid, the omrahs making it a point to adorn them at their own expence. In general they are spacious divans or alcoves facing a flower garden, embellished by small canals of running water, reservoirs and jets d'eau. The omrahs on guard have their table supplied by the king. Every meal is sent ready dressed, and is received by the omrahs with all suitable ceremony, three times performing the taslim, or salute of grateful acknowledgement, by turning the face toward the king's residence, and then raising the hand to the head and lowering it to the ground.

There are besides many divans and tents in different parts of the fortress, which serve as offices for public business.

Large halls are seen in many places, called kar-kanays or workshops for the artisans. In one hall embroiderers are busily employed, superintended by a master. In another you see the goldsmiths; in a third, painters; in a fourth, varnishers in lacquer; in a fifth, joiners, turners, tailors and shoemakers; in a sixth, manufacturers of silk, brocade and those fine muslins of which are made turbans, girdles with golden flowers, and drawers worn by females, so delicately fine as frequently to wear out in one night. This article of dress, which lasts only a few hours, may cost ten or twelve crowns, and even more, when beautifully embroidered with needle-work.

The artisans repair every morning to their respective kar-kanays, where they remain employed the whole day; and in the evening return to their homes. In this quiet and regular manner their time glides away; no one aspiring after any improvement in the condition of life wherein he happens to be born. The embroiderer brings up his son as an embroiderer, the son of a goldsmith becomes a goldsmith, and a physician of the city educates his son for a physician.* No one marries but in his own trade or profession; and this custom is observed almost as rigidly by muselmans as by the Hindoos, to whom it is expressly enjoined by their law. Many are the beautiful girls thus doomed to live singly, girls who might marry advantageously, if their parents would connect them with a family less noble than their own.

I must not forget the am-kas, to which you at length arrive, after passing the places just mentioned. This is really a noble edifice: it consists of a large square court of arcades, not unlike our Place Royale, with this difference, however, that the arcades of the am-kas have no

* Many of the fences which marked the limits of the respective castes, are now broken down. The Brahmins of the Deccan and Purjab, observes Mr. Forster, have taken up the sword, and are seen crowding the ranks of an army; the chehteree occasionally takes himself to traffic, and the sooder has become the inheritor of principalities.—*Translator.*

buildings over them. Each arcade is separated by a wall, yet in such a manner that there is a small door to pass from one to the other. Over the grand gate, situated in the middle of one side of this court, is a capacious divan, quite open on the side of the court, called nagar-kanay. In this place which thence derives its name are kept the trumpets, or rather the hautboys and tymbals, which play in concert at certain hours of the day and night. To the ears of an European recently arrived, this music sounds very strangely, for there are ten or twelve hautboys, and as many tymbals, which play together. One of the hautboys, called karna, is a fathom and a half in length, and its lower aperture cannot be less than a French foot. The tymbals of brass or iron are some of them at least a fathom in diameter. You may judge, therefore, of the roaring sound which issues from the nagar-kanay. On my first arrival it stunned me so as to be insupportable: but such is the power of habit that this same noise is now heard by me with pleasure; in the night, particularly, when in bed and afar, on my terrace this music sounds in my ears as solemn, grand and melodious. This is not altogether to be wondered at, since it is played by persons instructed from infancy in the rules of melody, and possessing the skill of modulating and turning the harsh sounds of the hautboy and tymbal so as to produce a symphony far from disagreeable when heard at a certain distance. The nagar-kanay is placed in an ele-

vated situation, and remote from the royal apartments, that the king may not be annoyed by the proximity of this music.

Opposite to the grand gate, which supports the nagar-kanay, as you cross the court, is a large and magnificent hall, decorated with several rows of pillars, which, as well as the ceiling, are all painted and overlaid with gold. The hall is raised considerably from the ground and very airy, being open on the three sides that look into the court. In the centre of the wall that separates the hall from the seraglio, and higher from the floor than a man can reach, is a wide and lofty opening, or large window, where the monarch every day, about noon, sits upon his throne, with some of his sons at his right and left; while eunuchs standing about the royal person, flap away the flies with peacocks' tails, agitate the air with large fans, or wait with undivided attention and profound humility to perform the different services allotted to each. Immediately under the throne is a divan, surrounded by silver rails, on which are assembled the whole body of omrahs, the rajahs, and the ambassadors, all standing, their eyes bent downward, and their hands crossed. At a greater distance from the throne are the mansebdars or inferior omrahs also standing in the same posture of profound reverence. The remainder of the spacious room, and indeed the whole court yard are filled with persons of all ranks, high and low, rich and

poor; because it is in this extensive hall that the king gives audience indiscriminately to all his subjects: hence it is called am-kas, or audience chamber of high and low.

During the hour and a half, or two hours that this ceremony continues, a certain number of the royal horses pass before the throne, that the king may see whether they are well used and in a proper condition. The elephants come next, their filthy hides having been well washed and painted as black as ink, with two large red streaks from the top of the head down to the trunk, where they meet. The elephants are covered with embroidered cloth; a couple of silver bells are suspended to the two ends of a massy silver chain placed over their back; and white cow-tails from Great Thibet, of great value, hang from the ears like immense whiskers. Two small elephants, superbly caparisoned, walk close to these colossal creatures, like slaves appointed to their service. As if proud of his gorgeous attire and of the magnificence that surrounds him, every elephant moves with a solemn and dignified step; and when in front of the throne, the driver who is seated on his shoulder, pricks him with a pointed iron, animates and speaks to him, until the animal bends one knee, lifts his trunk on high and roars aloud, which the people consider as the elephant's mode of performing the taslim or usual reverence.

Other animals are next introduced;—tame

antelopes, kept for the purpose of fighting with each other; nilgaus, or grey oxen, that appear to me to be a species of elk; rhinoceroses; large Bengal buffaloes with prodigious horns which enable them to contend against lions or tigers; tame leopards, or panthers, employed in hunting antelopes; some of the fine sporting dogs from Usbec, of every kind, and each dog with a small red covering; lastly, every species of the birds of prey used in field sports for catching partridges, cranes, hares and even, it is said, for hunting antelopes, on whom they pounce with violence, beating their heads and blinding them with their wings and claws.

Besides this procession of animals, the cavalry of one or two omrahs frequently pass in review before the king; the horsemen being better dressed than usual, the horses furnished with iron armour, and decorated with an endless variety of fantastic trappings.

The king takes pleasure also in having the blades of cutlasses tried on dead sheep, brought before him without the entrails, and neatly bound up. Young omrahs, mansebdars and gourze-berdars or mace-bearers exercise their skill, and put forth all their strength, to cut through the four feet, which are fastened together, and the body of the sheep at one blow.

But all these things are so many interludes to more serious matters. The king not only reviews his cavalry with peculiar attention, but there is

not, since the war has been ended, a single cavalier, or other soldier, whom he has not inspected, and made himself personally acquainted with, increasing or reducing the pay of some, and dismissing others from the service. All the petitions held up in the crowd assembled in the am-kas, are brought to the king and read in his hearing; and the persons concerned being ordered to approach are examined by the monarch himself, who often redresses at the instant the wrongs of the aggrieved party. On another day of the week he devotes two hours to hear in private the petitions of ten persons, selected from the lower orders, and presented to the king by a good and rich old man. Nor does he fail to attend the justice chamber, called adalet-kanay, on another day of the week, attended by the two principal cadis, or chief justices. It is evident, therefore, that barbarous as we are apt to consider the sovereigns of Asia, they are not always unmindful of the justice that is due to their subjects.

What I have stated of the proceedings in the assembly of the am-kas appears sufficiently rational and even noble; but I must not conceal from you the base and disgusting adulation which is invariably witnessed there. Whenever a word escapes the lips of the king, if at all to the purpose, how trifling soever may be its import, it is immediately caught by the surrounding throng; and the chief omrahs, extending their arms towards heaven, as if to receive some benediction,

exclaim karamat! karamat! wonderful! wonderful! he has spoken wonders! Indeed there is no mogul who does not know and does not glory in repeating this proverb in Persian verse:

> Aguer chah ronzra gouyed cheb est in
> Bubayed gouft inck mah ou peruin.

If at noon day the king asserts that it is midnight, you are to say, behold the moon and the stars!

The vice of flattery pervades all ranks. When a mogul for instance has occasion for my services, he comes to tell me by way of preamble, and as matter of course, that I am the Aristotalis the Bocrate, and the Abouysina ulzaman; the Aristotle, the Hippocrates, and the Avicenna of the age. At first I endeavoured to prevent this fulsome mode of address by assuring my visitors that I was very far from possessing the merit they seemed to imagine, and that no comparison ought to be made between such great men and me; but finding that my modesty only increased their praise, I determined to accustom my ears to their flattery as I had done to their music. I shall here relate an anecdote which I consider quite characteristic. A Pundit Brahmin, or Hindoo doctor, whom I introduced into my aga's service, would fain pronounce his panegyric; and after comparing him to the greatest conquerors the world has ever known, and making for the purpose of flattery a hundred nauseous and impertinent observations, he concluded his harangue in these words, uttered with all conceivable seriousness:

"When my lord, you place your foot in the stirrup, marching at the head of your cavalry, the earth trembles under your footsteps; the eight elephants, on whose heads it is borne; finding it impossible to support the extraordinary pressure." The conclusion of this speech produced the effect that might be expected. I could not avoid laughing, but I endeavoured, with a grave countenance, to tell my aga, whose risibility was just as much excited, that it behoved him to be cautious how he mounted on horseback and created earthquakes, which often caused so much mischief. "Yes, my friend," he answered without hesitation, "and that is the reason why I generally choose to be carried in a palanquin."

The grand hall of the am-kas opens into a more retired chamber, called the gosel-kanay, or the place to wash in. Few persons are permitted to enter this room, the court of which is not so large as that of the am-kas. The hall is, however, very handsome, spacious, gilt and painted, and raised four or five French feet from the pavement, like a large estrade. It is in this place that the king, seated in a chair, his omrahs standing around him grants more private audiences to his officers, receives their reports, and deliberates on important affairs of state. Every omrah incurs the same pecuniary penalty for omitting to attend this assembly in the evening, as for failing to be present at the am-kas in the morning. The only grandee whose daily attendance is dispensed

with is my aga Danechmend-Khan, who enjoys this exemption in consequence of his being a man of letters, and of the time he necessarily devotes to his studies or to foreign affairs; but on Wednesdays, the day of the week on which he mounts guard, he attends in the same manner as other omrahs. This custom of meeting twice a day is very ancient; and no omrah can reasonably complain that it is binding, since the king seems to consider it as obligatory upon himself as upon his courtiers to be present; nothing but urgent business, or serious bodily affliction, preventing him from appearing at the two assemblies. In his late alarming illness Aureng-Zêbe was carried every day to the one or the other, if not to both. He felt the necessity of shewing himself at least once during the twenty-four hours; for his disorder was of so dangerous a character that his absence, though only for one day, might have thrown the whole kingdom into trouble and insurrection and caused the closing of every shop.

Although the king, when seated in the hall of gosel-kanay, is engaged about such affairs as I have mentioned, yet the same shows are exhibited for the most part as in the am-kas; but being late in the day, and the adjoining court being small, the cavalry of the omrahs does not pass in review. There is this peculiar ceremony in the evening assembly, that all the mansebdars who are on guard pass before the king to salute him with much form. The kours move pompously in their

front: these are silver figures, beautifully made, carried at the end of large silver sticks: two of them represent large fish; two others, a horrible and fantastic animal called eiedeha; others are the figures of two lions; others of two hands; and others of scales; and several more which I cannot here enumerate, to which the Indians attach a certain mystic meaning. Among the kours and the mansebdars, are mixed many gourze-berdars, or macebearers, chosen for their tall and handsome persons, and whose business it is to preserve order in assemblies, and to carry the king's orders, and execute his commands with the utmost speed.

It would afford me pleasure to conduct you to the seraglio, as I have introduced you into other parts of the fortress. But who is the traveller that can describe from ocular observation the interior of that building? I have sometimes gone into it when the king was absent from Delhi, and once pretty far I thought, for the purpose of giving my professional advice in the case of a great lady so extremely ill that she could not be moved to the outward gate, according to the custom observed upon similar occasions; but a kashmire shawl covered my head, hanging like a large scarf down to my feet, and an eunuch led me by the hand, as if I had been a blind man. You must be content, therefore, with such a general description as I have received from some of the eunuchs. They inform me that the seraglio

contains beautiful apartments, separated, and more or less spacious and splendid, according to the rank and income of the females. Nearly every chamber has its reservoir of running water at the door; on every side are gardens, delightful alleys, shady retreats, streams, jets d'eau, grottoes, deep excavations that afford shelter from the sun by day, lofty divans and terraces, on which to sleep coolly at night. Within the walls of this enchanting place, in fine, no oppressive or inconvenient heat is felt. The eunuchs speak with extravagant praise of a small tower, facing the river, which is covered with plates of gold, in the same manner as the two towers of Agra; and its apartments are decorated with gold and azure, exquisite paintings and magnificent mirrors.

Before taking our final leave of the fortress, I wish to recall your attention to the am-kas, which I am desirous to describe, as I saw it during certain annual festivals; especially on the occasion of the rejoicings that took place after the termination of the war. Never did I witness a more extraordinary scene.

The king appeared seated upon his throne, at the end of the great hall, in the most magnificent attire. His vest was of white and delicately flowered satin, with a silk and gold embroidery of the finest texture. The turban, of gold cloth, had an aigrette whose foot was composed of diamonds of an extraordinary size and value, besides an oriental topaz, which may be pronounced unparalleled,

exhibiting a lustre like the sun. A necklace of immense pearls, suspended from his neck, reached to the stomach, in the same manner as many pagans wear their strings of beads. The throne was supported by six massy feet, said to be of solid gold, sprinkled over with rubies, emeralds, and diamonds. I cannot tell you with accuracy the number or value of this vast collection of precious stones, because no person may approach sufficiently near to reckon them, or judge of their water and clearness; but I can assure you that there is a confusion of diamonds, as well as other jewels, and that the throne, to the best of my recollection, is valued at four crores of rupees. I observed elsewhere that a lack is one hundred thousand rupees, and that a crore is a hundred lacks; so that the throne is estimated at forty millions of rupees. It was constructed by Shah-Jehan, the father of Aureng-Zêbe, for the purpose of displaying the immense quantity of precious stones accumulated successively in the treasury from the spoils of ancient rajahs and Patans, and the annual presents to the monarch which every omrah is bound to make on certain festivals. The construction and workmanship of the throne are not correspondent with the materials; but two peacocks, covered with jewels and pearls, are well conceived and executed. They were made by a workman of astonishing powers, a Frenchman by birth, who, after defrauding several of the princes of Europe, by means of false gems, which he fabri-

cated with peculiar skill, sought refuge in the Great Mogul's court, where he made his fortune.

At the foot of the throne were assembled all the omrahs in splendid apparel upon an estrade surrounded by a silver railing, and covered by a spacious canopy of brocade with deep fringes of gold. The pillars of the hall were hung with brocades of a gold ground, and flowered satin canopies were raised over the whole expanse of the extensive apartment fastened with red silken cords, from which were suspended large tassels of silk and gold. The floor was covered entirely with carpets of the richest silk, of immense length and breadth. A tent, called the aspek, was pitched outside, larger than the hall, to which it joined by the top. It spread over half the court and was completely enclosed by a great balustrade covered with plates of silver. Its supporters were pillars overlaid with silver, three of which were as thick and as high as the mast of a bark, the others smaller. The outside of this magnificent tent was red, and the inside lined with elegant Masulipatam chintzes, figured expressly for that very purpose with flowers so natural and colours so vivid, that the tent seemed to be encompassed with real parterres.

As to the arcade galleries round the court, every omrah had received orders to decorate one of them at his own expense, and there appeared a spirit of emulation who should best acquit himself to the monarch's satisfaction. Consequently all

the arcades and galleries were covered from top to bottom with brocade, and the pavement with rich carpets.

On the third day of the festival, the king, and after him several omrahs, were weighed with a great deal of ceremony in large scales, which, as well as the weights, are, they say, of solid gold. I recollect that all the courtiers expressed much joy when it was found that Aureng-Zêbe weighed two pounds more than the year preceding.

Similar festivals are held every year, but never before were they celebrated with equal splendour and expence. It is thought that the principal inducement with the king for the extraordinary magnificence displayed on this occasion was to afford to the merchants an opportunity of disposing of the quantities of brocades, which the war had for four or five years prevented them from selling. The expence incurred by the omrahs was considerable, but a portion of it fell ultimately on the common cavaliers, whom the omrahs obliged to purchase the brocades to be made up into vests.

An ancient custom attends these anniversary days of rejoicing, not at all agreeable to the omrahs. They are expected to make a handsome present to the king, more or less valuable according to the amount of their pay. Some of them, indeed, take that opportunity of presenting gifts of extraordinary magnificence, sometimes for the sake of an ostentatious display, sometimes to

divert the king from instituting an enquiry into the exactions committed in their official situations or governments, and sometimes to gain the favour of the king, and by that means obtain an increase of salary. Some present fine pearls, diamonds, emeralds or rubies; others offer vessels of gold set with precious stones; others again give a quantity of gold coins, each worth about a pistole and a half. During a festival of this kind Aureng-Zêbe having paid a visit to Jafer-khan, not as his vizier but as a kinsman, on the pretext that he wished to see a house which he lately erected, the vizier made a present to the king of gold coins to the amount of one hundred thousand crowns, some handsome pearls, and a ruby, which was estimated at forty thousand crowns, but which Shah-Jehan who understood better than any man the value of every kind of precious stone, discovered to be worth less than five hundred, to the great confusion of the principal jewellers, who in this instance, had been completely deceived.

A whimsical kind of fair is sometimes held during these festivities in the mâhil, or royal seraglio: it is conducted by the handsomest and most engaging of the wives of the omrahs and principal mansebdars. The articles exhibited are beautiful brocades, rich embroideries of the newest fashion, turbans elegantly worked on cloth of gold, fine muslins worn by women of quality, and other articles of high price. These bewitching females act the part of traders, while the purchasers are

the king, the begums or princesses, and other distinguished ladies of the seraglio. If any omrah's wife happens to have a handsome daughter, she never fails to accompany her mother, that she may be seen by the king and become known to the begums. The charm of this fair is the most ludicrous manner in which the king makes his bargains, frequently disputing for the value of a penny. He pretends that the good lady cannot possibly be in earnest, that the article is much too dear, that it is not equal to that he can find elsewhere, and that positively he will give no more than such a price. The woman, on the other hand, endeavours to sell to the best advantage, and when the king perseveres in offering what she considers too little money, high words frequently ensue, and she fearlessly tells him that he is a mere merchant of snow, a person ignorant of the value of merchandize; that her articles are too good for him, and that he had better go where he can suit himself better. The begums betray, if possible, a still greater anxiety to be served cheaply; high words are heard on every side, and the loud and scurrilous quarrels of the sellers and buyers create a complete farce. But sooner or later they agree upon the price, the princesses as well as the king buy right and left, pay in ready money, and often slip out of their hands as if by accident, a few gold instead of silver rupees, intended as a compliment to the fair merchant or her pretty daughter. The present is received in

the same unconscious manner, and the whole ends amidst witty jests and good humour.

Shah-Jehan was fond of the sex and introduced fairs at every festival, though not always to the satisfaction of some of the omrahs. He certainly transgressed the bounds of decency in admitting at those times into the seraglio singing and dancing girls called kenchens, (the gilded, the blooming,) and in keeping them there for that purpose the whole night; they were not indeed the prostitutes seen in bazaars, but those of a more private and respectable class, who attend the grand weddings of omrahs and mansebdars, for the purpose of singing and dancing. Most of these kenchens are handsome and well dressed, and sing to perfection; and their limbs being extremely supple, they dance with wonderful agility, and are always correct in regard to time; after all, however, they were but common women. It was not enough for Shah-Jehan that the kenchens visited the fairs; when they came to him on the Wednesdays to pay their reverence at the am-kas, according to an ancient custom, he often detained them the whole night, and amused himself with their anticks and follies. Aureng-Zêbe is more serious than his father; he forbids the kenchens to enter the seraglio; but complying with long established usage, does not object to their coming every Wednesday to the am-kas, where they make the salam from a certain distance, and then immediately retire.

While on the subject of festivals, fairs, and kenchens, or kenchenys, I am tempted to relate an anecdote of one of our countrymen, named Bernard. I agree with Plutarch, that trifling incidents ought not to be concealed, and that they often enable us to form more accurate opinions of the manners and genius of a people than events of great importance. Viewed in this light, the story, ridiculous as it is in itself, may be acceptable. Bernard resided at the court of Jehan-Guire, during the latter years of that king's reign, and was reputed, with apparent justice, to be an excellent physician and a skilful surgeon. He enjoyed the favour of the Mogul, and became his companion at table, where they often drank together to excess. The king and his physician possessed congenial tastes; the former thought only of his pleasures, and left the management of public affairs to his wife, the celebrated Noor-Mâhil or Noor-Jehan-Begum a woman, he used to say, whose transcendent abilities rendered her competent to govern the empire without the interference of her husband. Bernard's daily and regular pay was ten crowns; but this was greatly increased by his attendance on the high ladies of the seraglio and on all the omrahs, who seemed to vie with each other in making him the most liberal presents, not only because of the cures he effected, but on account of his influence at court. This man, however, disregarded the value of money; what he received with one

hand he gave with the other; so that he was much beloved by every body, especially by the kenchens, on whom he lavished vast sums. Among the females of this description who nightly filled his house, was a young and beautiful damsel, remarkable for the elegance of her dancing, with whom our countryman fell violently in love; but the mother apprehending that the girl would lose her health and bodily vigour with her virginity, never for a moment lost sight of her, and she resisted all the overtures and incessant solicitations of the court physician. While in despair of obtaining the object of his affections, Jehan-Guire at the am-kas, once offered him a present before all the omrahs by way of remuneration for an extraordinary cure which he had effected in the seraglio. "Your majesty," said Bernard, "will not be offended if I refuse the gift so munificently offered, and implore that in lieu thereof your majesty would bestow on me the young kencheny now waiting with others of her company to make the customary salam." The whole assembly smiled at this refusal of the present, and at a request so little likely to be granted, he being a Christian and the girl a muhammedan and a kencheny; but Jehan-Guire, who never felt any religious scruples, was thrown into a violent fit of laughter, and commanded the girl to be given to him, "Lift her on the physician's shoulders," he said, "and let him carry the kenchen away." No sooner said than done.

In the midst of a crowded assembly the girl was placed on Bernard's back, who withdrew triumphantly with his prize and took her to his house.

The festivals generally conclude with an amusement unknown in Europe,—a combat between two elephants; which takes place in the presence of all the people on the sandy space near the river: the king, the principal ladies of the court and the omrahs, viewing the spectacle from different apartments in the fortress.

A wall of earth is raised three or four French feet wide and five or six high. The two ponderous beasts meet one another face to face, on opposite sides of the wall, each having a couple of riders, that the place of the man who sits on the shoulders for the purpose of guiding the elephant with a large iron hook, may immediately be supplied if he should be thrown down. The riders animate the elephants either by soothing words, or by chiding them as cowards, and urge them on with their heels, until the poor creatures approach the wall and are brought to the attack. The shock is tremendous, and it appears surprising that they ever survive the dreadful wounds and blows inflicted with their teeth, their heads and their trunks. There are frequent pauses during the fight; it is suspended and renewed; and the mud wall being at length thrown down, the stronger or more courageous elephant passes on and attacks his opponent, and putting him to flight,

pursues and fastens upon him with so much obstinacy, that the animals can be separated only by means of cherkys, or fire-works, which are made to explode between them; for they are naturally timid, and have a particular dread of fire, which is the reason why elephants have been used with so very little advantage in armies since the use of fire-arms. The boldest come from Ceylon, but none are employed in war which have not been regularly trained, and accustomed for years to the discharge of muskets close to their heads, and the bursting of crackers between their legs.

The fight of these noble creatures is attended with much cruelty. It frequently happens that some of the riders are trodden under foot, and killed on the spot, the elephant having always cunning enough to feel the importance of dismounting the rider of his adversary, whom he therefore endeavours to strike down with his trunk. So imminent is the danger considered, that on the day of combat the unhappy men take the same formal leave of their wives and children as if condemned to death. They are somewhat consoled by the reflection that if their lives should be preserved, and the king be pleased with their conduct, not only will their pay be augmented, but a sack of peyssas (equal to fifty francs) will be presented to them the moment they alight from the elephant. They have also the satisfaction of knowing that in the event of their death, the pay

will be continued to the widows, and that their sons will be appointed to the same situation. The mischief with which this amusement is attended does not always terminate with the death of the rider: it often happens that some of the spectators are knocked down and trampled upon by the elephants, or by the crowd; for the rush is terrible when, to avoid the infuriated combatants, men and horses in confusion take to flight. The second time I witnessed this exhibition I owed my safety entirely to the goodness of my horse and the exertions of my two servants.

But it is time we should quit the fortress, and return to the city, where I omitted to describe two edifices worthy of notice.

The first is the principal mosque, which is conspicuous at a great distance, being situated on the top of a rock in the centre of the town. The surface of the rock was previously levelled, and around it a space is cleared sufficiently large to form a handsome square, where four fine long streets terminate, opposite to the four sides of the mosque; one, opposite to the principal entrance, in front of the building; a second, to the back of the temple; and the two others, to the gates that are in the middle of the two sides. The ascent to the three gates, is by means of five and twenty or thirty steps, of beautiful large stone, which are continued the whole length of the front and sides. The back part is cased over to the height of the rock,

with large and handsome hewn stone, which hides its inequalities, and tends to give a noble appearance to the building. The three entrances, composed of marble, are magnificent, and their large doors are overlaid with highly finished plates of copper or brass. Above the principal gate, which greatly exceeds the others in grandeur of appearance, there are several small turrets of white marble that produce a fine effect; and at the back part of the mosque are seen three capacious domes, built also of white marble, within and without. The middle dome is much larger and loftier than the other two. The extremity of the mosque alone is covered: the space between the three domes and the principal entrance is without any roof; the extreme heat of the climate rendering such an opening absolutely necessary. The whole is paved of large slabs of marble. I grant that this building is not constructed according to those rules of architecture which we seem to think ought to be implicitly followed; yet I can perceive no fault that offends the taste; every part appears well contrived, properly executed, and correctly proportioned. I am satisfied that even in Paris, a church erected after the model of this temple, would be admired, were it only for its singular style of architecture and its extraordinary appearance. With the exception of the three great domes, and the numerous turrets, which are

all of white marble, the mosque is of a red colour, as if built with large slabs of red marble; although it consists of a species of stone cut with great facility, and apt to exfoliate after a certain time. The natives pretend that the quarries from which it is taken, reproduce the stone by degrees: this, if true, is very remarkable; but whether or not they rightly attribute it to the water which fills the quarries every year, I cannot decide.

The king repairs to the mosque every Friday, for the purpose of prayer; that day corresponding in muhammedan countries to our Sunday. The streets through which he passes are watered to lay the dust and temper the heat: two or three hundred musketeers form an avenue from the gate of the fortress, and as many more line both sides of a wide street leading directly to the mosque. The muskets of these soldiers are small but well finished, and have a sort of large scarlet covering with a little streamer on the top. Five or six horsemen, well mounted, are also ready at the fortress gate, and their duty is to clear the way for the king, keeping, however, at a considerable distance in advance, lest he should be incommoded by their dust. These preparations completed, his majesty leaves the fortress, sometimes on an elephant, decorated with rich trappings, and a canopy supported by painted and gilt pillars; and sometimes in a throne gleaming with azure and gold, placed on a litter covered with

scarlet or brocade, which eight chosen men, in handsome attire, carry on their shoulders. A body of omrahs follow the king, some on horseback, and others in palanquins; and among the omrahs are seen a great number of mansebdars, and bearers of silver maces, whom I have elsewhere described. I cannot say that this train resembles the pompous processions, or (which is a more appropriate term) the masquerades of the Grand Seignior, or the martial retinues of European monarchs: its magnificence is of a different character; but it is not therefore the less royal. The other edifice in Delhi to which I would draw your attention, is what they call the caravansary of the princess, built by the celebrated Begum-Saheb, Shah-Jehan's eldest daughter, of whom I have so much spoken in my history of the late war. Not only this princess, but all the omrahs who wished to gain the favour of the old monarch, embellished the new city at their own expence. The caravansary is a large square with arcades, like our Place Royale, except that the arches are separated from each other by partitions, and have small chambers at their inner extremities. Above the arcades runs a gallery all round the building, into which open the same number of chambers as there are below. This place is the rendezvous of the rich Persian, Usbec, and other foreign merchants, who in general may be accommodated with empty chambers, in which they remain with perfect security, the gate of the caravansary being closed at night. If in Paris we had a score of

similar structures, distributed in different parts of the city, strangers on their first arrival would be less embarrassed than at present to find a safe and reasonable lodging. They might remain in them a few days until they had seen their acquaintance, and looked out at leisure for more convenient apartments. Such places would become warehouses for all kinds of merchandize and the general resort of foreign merchants.

Before I quit the subject of Delhi, I will answer by anticipation a question which I am sensible you wish to ask: namely, What is the extent of the population of that city, and the number of its respectable inhabitants, as compared with the capital of France. When I consider that Paris consists of three or four cities, piled upon one another; all of them containing numerous apartments, filled, for the most part, from top to bottom, that the streets are thronged with men and women, on foot and horseback; with carts, chaises and coaches; and that there are very few large squares, courts or gardens; reflecting, I say, upon all these facts, Paris appears to me the nursery-ground of nations, and I can scarcely persuade myself that Delhi contains an equal number of people. On the other hand, if we take a review of this metropolis of India, and observe its vast extent and its numberless shops; if we recollect that, besides the omrahs, the city never contains less than five and thirty thousand cavaliers, nearly all of whom have wives, children, and a great number of servants, who, as well as their masters, reside in separate houses;

that there is no house, by whomsoever inhabited, which does not swarm with women and children; that during the hours when the abatement of the heat permits the inhabitants to walk abroad, the streets are crowded with people, although many of those streets are very wide and, excepting a few carts, unincumbered with wheel carriages; if we take all these circumstances into consideration, we shall hesitate before we give a positive opinion in regard to the comparative population of Paris and Delhi; and I conclude, that if the number of souls be not as great in the latter city as in our own capital, it cannot be greatly less. As respects the better sort of people, there is a striking difference in favour of Paris, where seven or eight out of ten individuals, seen in the streets, are tolerably well clad, and have a certain air of respectability; but in Delhi, for two or three who wear decent apparel, there may always be reckoned seven or eight poor, ragged, and miserable beings, attracted to the capital by the army. I cannot deny, however, that I continually meet with persons neat and elegant in their dress, finely formed, well mounted and properly attended. Nothing, for instance, can be conceived much more brilliant than the great square in front of the fortress at the hours when the omrahs, rajahs and mansebdars repair to the citadel to mount guard, or attend the assembly of the am-kas. The mansebdars flock thither from all parts well mounted

and equipped, and splendidly accompanied by four servants, two behind and two before, to clear the street for their masters. Omrahs and rajahs ride thither, some on horseback, some on majestic elephants; but the greater part are conveyed on the shoulders of six men, in rich palanquins, leaning against a thick cushion of brocade, and chewing betel, for the double purpose of sweetening their breath and reddening their lips. On one side of every palanquin, is seen a servant with the omrah's toothpick and the salivary vessel of porcelain or silver which always accompanies the pipe; on the other side, two more servants fan the luxurious lord, and flap away the flies, or brush off the dust with a peacock's tail; three or four footmen march in front to clear the way, and a chosen number of the best formed and best mounted horsemen follow in the rear.

The country in the neighbourhood of Delhi is extremely fertile. It produces corn, sugar, anil or indigo, rice, millet, and three or four other kinds of pulse, the food of the common people, in great abundance. Two leagues from the city, on the Agra road, in a place which the muhammedans call Koia Kotubeddine, is a very old edifice, formerly a deura, or temple of idols, containing inscriptions written in characters different from those of any language spoken in India, and so ancient that no one understands them.

In another direction, and at a distance of two

or three leagues from Delhi, is the king's country house, called Sha-limar, a handsome and noble building, but not to be compared to Fontainebleau, Saint Germain, or Versailles.* I assure you there are no such palaces in the vicinity of Delhi; nor seats such as Saint Cloud, Chantilly, Meudon, Liancour, Vau or Ruel, or even the smaller country houses belonging to private gentlemen, citizens or merchants; but this will create no surprise when it is considered that no subject can hold landed property in his own right. Between Delhi and Agra, a distance of fifty or sixty leagues, there are no fine towns, such as travellers pass through in France: the whole road is cheerless and uninteresting; nothing is worthy observation but Muttra, where an ancient and magnificent pagan temple is still to be seen; a few tolerably handsome caravansaries, a day's journey from each other; and a double row of trees planted by order of Jehan-Guire, and continued for one hundred and fifty leagues, with small pyramids or turrets, erected from cross to cross,† for the purpose of pointing out the different roads. Wells are also frequently met with, affording

* The gardens of Shalimâr were begun in the fourth year of Shah-Jehan's reign, and were laid out with admirable taste. The money expended upon them amounted to one million sterling.—*Dow.*

†Two British miles may be given to the average measurement of a cross.—*Translator.*

drink to travellers, and serving to water the young trees.

What I have said of Delhi may convey a correct idea of Agra, in regard at least to its situation on the Jumna, to the fortress or royal residence, and to most of its public buildings. But Agra having been a favourite and more frequent abode of the kings of Hindostan since the days of Acbar by whom it was built and named Acbar-abad, it surpasses Delhi in extent, in the multitude of residences belonging to omrahs and rajahs and of the good stone or brick houses inhabited by private individuals; and in the number and conveniency of its caravansaries. Agra has also to boast of two celebrated mausoleums, of which I shall speak by and by: it is, however, without walls, and inferior in some respects to the other capital; for not having been constructed after any settled design, it wants the uniform and wide streets that so eminently distinguish Delhi. Four or five of the streets, where trade is the principal occupation, are of great length, and the houses tolerably good: nearly all the others are short, narrow and irregular, and full of windings and corners: the consequence is that when the court is at Agra there is often a strange confusion. I believe I have stated the chief particulars wherein the two capitals differ; but I may add that Agra has more the appearance of a country town, especially when viewed from an eminence. The prospect it presents is rural,

varied and agreeable; for the grandees having always made it a point to plant trees in their gardens and courts for the sake of shade, the mansions of omrahs, rajahs, and others, are all interspersed with luxuriant and green foliage, in the midst of which the lofty stone houses of banians, or pagan merchants, have the appearance of old castles buried in forests. Such a landscape yields peculiar pleasure in a hot and parched country, where the eye seeks in verdure for refreshment and repose.

You need not quit Paris, however, to contemplate the finest, the most magnificent view in the world; for assuredly it may be found on the Pont-neuf. Place yourself on that bridge during the day, and what can be conceived more extraordinary than the throngs of people and carriages, the strange bustle, the various objects by which you are surrounded? Visit the same spot at night, and what, I fearlessly ask, can impress the mind like the scene you will witness? The innumerable windows of the lofty houses seen from the bridge, exhibit their chastened and subdued lights, while the activity and bustle, observable in the day, seem to suffer no diminution until midnight. There honest citizens, and what never happens in Asia, their handsome wives and daughters perambulate the streets, without apprehension of quagmires or of thieves; and to complete the picture, you see, in every direction, long lines

of brilliant lamps, burning with equal constancy in foul and fair weather. Yes, my friend, when you are on the Pont-neuf at Paris, you may boldly aver, on my authority, that your eyes behold the grandest of all the artificial scenes in the world, excepting possibly some parts of China and Japan, which I have not visited. What will this view be, what will be its beauty, when the Louvre is completed! when the Louvre, which it was thought would never be seen but in the design and on paper, shall have actual existence in fact!

I have purposely introduced the word artificial; because, in speaking of fine prospects, according to the common acceptation of the term, we must always except that view of Constantinople, as viewed from the middle of the great canal, opposite the point du sertail. Never shall I forget the overpowering delight I experienced when first I beheld that vast and, as it seemed to me, enchanted amphitheatre. The view of Constantinople, however, derives its chief beauty from nature; whereas in Paris every thing, or nearly so, is artificial; which, to my mind, gives more interest to the view of the latter; because the work of man so displayed indicates the capital of a great empire, the seat of a mighty monarch. I may indeed say, without partiality, and after making every allowance for the beauty of Delhi, Agra and Constantinople, that Paris is the finest,

the richest and altogether the first city in the world.

The Jesuits have a church in Agra, and a building which they call a college, where they privately instruct in the doctrines of our religion, the children of five and twenty or thirty Christian families, collected, I know not how, in Agra, and induced to settle there by the kind and charitable aid which they receive from the Jesuits. This religious order was invited hither by Acbar, at the period when the power of the Portuguese in India was at the highest; and that prince not only gave them an annual income for their maintenance, but permitted them to build churches in the capital cities of Agra and Lahore. The Jesuits found a still warmer patron in Jehan-Guire, the son and successor of Acbar; but they were sorely oppressed by Shah-Jehan, the son of Jehan-Guire, and father of the present king, Aureng-Zêbe. That monarch deprived them of their pension and destroyed the church at Lahore and the greater part of that of Agra, totally demolishing the steeple which contained a clock heard in every part of the city.

The good fathers, during the reign of Jehan-Guire, were sanguine in their expectation of the progress of Christianity in Hindostan. It is certain that this prince evinced the utmost contempt for the laws of the Koran, and expressed his admiration of the doctrines of our creed. He permitted two

of his nephews to embrace the Christian faith, and extended the same indulgence to Mirza. Zulkarmin, who had undergone the rite of circumcision and been brought up in the seraglio. The pretext was that Mirza was born of Christian parents, his mother having been wife of a rich Armenian, and having been brought to the seraglio by Jehan-Guire's desire.

The Jesuits say, that this king was so determined to countenance the Christian religion, that he formed the bold project of clothing the whole court in the European costume. The dresses were all prepared, when the king having privately arrayed himself in his new attire, he sent for one of his principal omrahs, whose opinion he required concerning the meditated change. The answer, however, was so appalling, that Jehan-Guire abandoned his design and affected to pass off the whole affair as a joke.

They also maintain that when on his deathbed, he expressed a wish to die a Christian, and sent for those holy men; but that the message was never delivered. Many, however, deny this to have been the case, and affirm that Jehan-Guire died, as he had lived, destitute of all religion, and that he nourished to the last a scheme which he had formed, after the example of his father Acbar, of declaring himself a prophet, and the founder of a new religion.

I am informed by a muselman, whose father belonged to Jehan-Guire's household, that in one

of that king's drunken frolics, he sent for some of the most learned moollahs, and for a Florentine priest, whom he named father Atech, in allusion to his fiery temper; and that the latter having, by his command, delivered an harangue in which he exposed the falsehoods of the muhammedan imposture, and defended the truths of his own persuasion, Jehan-Guire said that it was high time something should be done to decide the controversy between the Jesuits and moollahs. "Let a pit be dug," he added, "and a fire kindled. Father Atech, with the gospel under his arm, and a moollah, with the Koran, shall throw themselves into it, and I will embrace the religion of him whom the flames shall not consume." Father Atech declared his willingness to undergo the ordeal, but the moollahs manifested the utmost dread, and the king felt too much compassion both for the one and the other to persevere in the experiment.

Whatever credit this story may deserve, it is indisputable that the Jesuits during the whole of Jehan-Guire's reign were honoured and respected at this court, and that they entertained what appeared a well-grounded hope of the progress of the gospel in Hindostan. Every thing, however, which has occurred since the death of that monarch, excepting perhaps the close intimacy between Dara and father Buzêe, forbids us to indulge in any such expectation. But having

entered insensibly upon the subject of missions, you will perhaps allow me to make a few observations, introductory to the long letter which I intend to write concerning that important topic.

The design, indeed, meets with my entire approbation; nor ought we to withhold the meed of praise to those excellent missionaries in this part of the world, especially the Capuchins and Jesuits, who meekly impart religious instruction to all descriptions of men, without any mixture of indiscreet and bigoted zeal. To Christians of every denomination, whether Catholics, Greeks, Armenians, Nestorians, or Jacobites, the demeanour of these good pastors is affectionate and charitable. They are the refuge and consolation of distressed strangers and travellers, and by their great learning and exemplary lives expose to shame the ignorance and licentious habits of infidels. Some unhappily there are who disgrace the Christian profession by notoriously profligate conduct, and who ought, therefore, to be immured in their convents instead of being invested with the sacred character of missionaries. Their religion is a mere mummery, and so far from aiding the cause of Christianity, they become stumbling-blocks in the way of those whom they were sent to enlighten and reclaim; but these are merely the exceptions to a general rule which affect not the main argument. I am decidedly favourable to this establishment of missions, and the sending forth of learned and pious

missionaries. They are absolutely necessary; and it is the honour as well as the peculiar prerogative of Christians to supply every part of the world with men bearing the same character and following the same benign object as did the apostles. You are not, however, to conclude that I am so deluded by my love of missions, as to expect the same mighty effects to be produced by the exertions of modern missionaries as attended the preaching of a single sermon in the days of the apostles. I have had too much intercourse with infidels, and am become too well acquainted with the blindness of the human heart, to believe we shall hear of the conversion, in one day, of two or three thousand men. I despair especially of much success among muhammedan kings or muhammedan subjects. Having visited nearly all the missionary stations in the east, I speak the language of experience when I say, that whatever progress may be made among pagans, by the instruction and alms of the missionaries, you will be disappointed if you suppose that in ten years one muselman will be converted to Christianity. True it is that muhammedans respect the religion of the New Testament: they never speak of Jesus Christ but with great veneration, or pronounce the word Aysa, which means Jesus, without adding Azeret, or majesty. They even believe with us that he was miraculously begotten and born of a virgin mother, and that he is the Kelum-Allah

and the Rouh-Allah, the Word of God and the Spirit of God. It is in vain to hope, however, that they will renounce the religion wherein they were born, or be persuaded that Muhammed was a false prophet. The Christians of Europe ought nevertheless to assist the missionaries by every possible means: their prayers, power and wealth, ought to be employed in promoting the glory of their Redeemer; but the expence of the missions should be borne by Europeans, for it would be impolitic to lay burthens on the people abroad; and much care should be had that want may not drive any missionary to acts of meanness. Missions ought not only to be liberally provided, but should be composed of persons of sufficient integrity, energy, and intelligence, always to bear testimony to the truth; to seek with eagerness opportunities of doing good; in a word, to labour with unwearied activity and unabated zeal, in their Lord's vineyard, whenever and wherever he may be pleased to give them an opening. But although it be the duty of every Christian state to act in this manner, yet there ought to be no delusion; credence ought not to be given to every idle tale, and the work of conversion, which in fact is full of difficulty, should not be represented as a matter of easy accomplishment. We do not adequately estimate the strong hold which the muhammedan superstition has over the minds of its votaries, to whom it permits the

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unrestrained indulgence of passions which the religion we require them to substitute in its stead declares must be subdued or regulated. Muhammedanism is a pernicious code, established by force of arms, and still imposed upon mankind by the same brutal violence. To counteract its baneful progress, Christians must display the zeal, and use the means I have suggested, however clear it may be that this abominable imposture can be effectually destroyed only by the special and merciful interposition of Divine Providence. We may derive encouragement from the promising appearances lately witnessed in China, in Japan and in the case of Jehan-Guire. Missionaries have to contend, however, with another sad impediment;—the irreverent behaviour of Christians in their churches, so dissonant from their belief of the peculiar presence of God upon their altars, and so different to the conduct of muselmans who never venture, when engaged in the service of their mosques, even to turn the head, much less to utter a monosyllable one to the other; but seem to have the mind impressed with profound and awful veneration.

The Dutch have a malt factory in Agra, in which they generally keep four or five persons. Formerly they carried on a good trade in that city by the sale of broad cloths, large and small looking glasses, plain laces, gold and silver laces, and iron wares; likewise by the purchase of anil or indigo, gathered in the neighbourhood of Agra,

particularly at Bianes, two days' journey from the city, whither they go once every year, having a house in the place. The Dutch used also to make extensive purchases of cloths not only at Jelapour, but at Laknau, a seven or eight days' journey from Agra, where they also have a house, and dispatch a few factors every season. It seems, however, that the trade of this people is not now very lucrative; owing probably to the competition of the Armenians, or to the great distance between Agra and Surat. Accidents continually befall their caravans, which, to avoid the bad roads and mountains in the direct road, through Gualior and Brampour, travel by way of Ahmedabâd, over the territories of different rajahs. But whatever may be the discouragements, I do not believe the Dutch will follow the example of the English, and abandon their factory at Agra; because they still dispose of their spices to great advantage, and find it useful to have confidential persons near the court, always ready to prefer a complaint against any governor, or other officer, who may have committed an act of injustice or tyranny in any of the Dutch establishments at Bengal, Patna, Surat or Ahmedabâd.

I shall finish this letter with a description of the two wonderful mausoleums, which constitute the chief superiority of Agra over Delhi. One was erected by Jehan-Guire in honour of his father Acbar; and Shah-Jehan raised the other to the memory of his wife Taje-Mâhil, that ex-

traordinary and celebrated beauty, of whom her husband was so enamoured that it is said he was constant to her during life, and at her death was so affected as nearly to follow her to the grave.

I shall pass Acbar's monument without further observation, because all its beauties are found in still greater perfection in that of Taje-Mâhil, which I shall now endeavour to describe.

On leaving Agra, toward the east, you enter a long, wide, or paved street, on a gentle ascent, having on one side a high and long wall, which forms the side of a square garden, of much greater extent than our Place Royale, and on the other side a row of new houses with arcades, resembling those of the principal streets in Delhi, which I have already described. After walking half the length of the wall, you find on the right, that is on the side of the houses, a large gate, tolerably well made, which is the entrance of a caravansary; and on the opposite side that of the wall is seen the magnificent gate of a spacious and square pavilion, forming the entrance into the garden, between two reservoirs, faced with hewn stone.

This pavilion is an oblong square, and built of a stone resembling red marble, but not so hard. The front seems to me longer, and much more grand in its construction, than that of St. Louis, in the rue St. Antoine, and it is equally lofty. The columns, the architraves and the cornices are, indeed, not formed

according to the proportion of the five orders of architecture so strictly observed in French edifices. The building I am speaking of is of a different and peculiar kind; but not without something pleasing in its whimsical structure; and in my opinion it well deserves a place in our books of architecture. It consists almost wholly of arches upon arches, and galleries, or divans, upon galleries; disposed and contrived in an hundred different ways. Nevertheless the edifice has a magnificent appearance, and is conceived and executed effectually. Nothing offends the eye; on the contrary it is delighted with every part, and never tired with looking. The last time I visited Taje-Mâhil's mausoleum, I was in the company of a French merchant, who, as well as myself, thought that this extraordinary fabric could not be sufficiently admired. I did not venture to express my opinion, fearing that my taste might have become corrupted by my long residence in India; and as my companion was come recently from France, it was quite a relief to my mind to hear him say, that he had seen nothing in Europe so bold and majestic.

When you have entered a little way into the pavilion approaching toward the garden, you find yourself under a lofty cupola, surrounded above with galleries, and having two divans, or estrades below, one on the right, the other on the left; both of them raised eight or ten French feet from

the ground. Opposite to the entrance from the street is a large open arch, by which you enter a walk which divides nearly the whole of the garden into two equal parts.

This walk or terrace is wide enough to admit six coaches abreast; it is paved with large and hard square stones, raised about eight French feet above the garden; and divided the whole length by a canal faced with hewn stone and ornamented with jets d'eau placed at certain intervals.

After advancing twenty-five or thirty paces on this terrace, it is worth while to turn round and view the back elevation of the pavilion, which, though not comparable to the front, is still very splendid, being lofty and of a similar style of architecture. On both sides of the pavilion, along the garden wall, is a long and wide gallery, raised like a terrace, and supported by a number of low columns, placed near each other. Into this gallery the poor are admitted three times a week during the rainy season to receive the alms founded in perpetuity by Shah-Jehan.

Resuming the walk along the main terrace, you see before you at a distance a large dome, in which is the sepulchre; and to the right and left of that dome on a lower surface you observe several garden walks covered with trees and many parterres full of flowers.

When at the end of the principal walk or terrace, besides the dome that faces you, are

discovered two large pavilions, one to the right, another to the left; both built with the same kind of stone, consequently of the same red colour as the first pavilion. These are spacious square edifices, the parts of which are raised over each other in the form of balconies and terraces; three arches leave openings which have the garden wall for a boundary, and you walk under these pavilions as if they were lofty and wide galleries. I shall not stop to speak of the interior ornaments of the two pavilions, because they scarcely differ in regard to the walls, ceiling or pavement from the dome which I am going to describe. Between the end of the principal walk and this dome is an open and pretty large space, which I call a water-parterre, because the stones on which you walk, cut and figured in various forms, represent the borders of box in our parterres. From the middle of this space, you have a good view of the building which contains the tomb and which we are now to examine.

This building is a vast dome of white marble nearly of the same height as the Val de Grace of Paris, and encircled by a number of turrets, also of white marble, descending the one below the other in regular succession. The whole fabric is supported by four great arches, three of which are quite open and the other closed up by the wall of an apartment with a gallery attached to it. There the Koran is continually read with apparent devotion in respectful memory of Taje-Mâhil by

certain moollahs kept in the mausoleum for that purpose. The centre of every arch is adorned with white marble slabs whereon are inscribed large Arabian characters in black marble, which produce a fine effect. The interior or concave part of the dome and generally the whole of the wall from top to bottom are faced with white marble: no part can be found that is not skilfully wrought, or that has not its peculiar beauty. Every where are seen the jasper, hyacinth and jade, as well as other stones similar to those that enrich the walls of the Grand Duke's chapel at Florence, and several more of great value and rarity, set in an endless variety of modes, mixed and enchased in the slabs of marble which face the body of the wall. Even the squares of white and black marble which compose the pavement are inlaid with these precious stones in the most beautiful and delicate manner imaginable.

Under the dome is a small chamber, wherein is enclosed the tomb of Taje-Mâhil. It is opened with much ceremony once in a year, and once only; and as no Christian is admitted within, lest its sanctity should be profaned, I have not seen the interior; but I understand that nothing can be conceived more rich and magnificent.

It only remains to draw your attention to a walk or terrace, nearly five and twenty paces in breadth and rather more in height, which runs from the dome to the extremity of the garden. From this terrace are seen the Jumna, flowing

below—a large expanse of luxuriant gardens—a part of the city of Agra—the fortress—and all the fine residences of the omrahs, erected on the banks of the river. When I add that this terrace extends almost the whole length of one side of the garden, I leave you to judge whether I had not sufficient ground for asserting that the mausoleum of Taje-Mâhil is an astonishing work. It is possible I may have imbibed an Indian taste; but I decidedly think that this monument deserves much more to be numbered among the wonders of the world than the pyramids of Egypt, those unshapen masses which, when I had seen them twice, yielded me no satisfaction; and which are nothing on the outside but heaps of large stones piled in the form of steps one upon another, while within there is very little that it is creditable either to human skill or to human invention.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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